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ABSTRACT

The papers of this proceedings are presented in three parts. The four papers in part 1, "Issues in 20th Century American Education", discuss the women graduates of Oberlin College, 1836-1860, the Americanization of art museums, the business community's response to government's support of the labor movement, and the response of liberalism to the educational depression as seen through the publications of "Nation" and the "New Republic". The titles are: (1) "Conflict of Roles: Evangelism and Feminism a Twentieth Century Perspective?" (R. S. Saslaw); (2) "John Cotton Dana, The Newark Museum and the Arts in American Society" (A. S. Schnee); (3) "The National Association of Manufacturers and the Free Enterprise Campaign in the Schools, 1929-1949" (C. A. Moore); and (4) "The Assault on the Schoolhouse: Liberal Responses to the Educational Depression" (J. M. Wallace). The three papers in part 2, "Educational Developments in 19th Century American Education", present the moral instruction found in a children's magazine, the debate about the purpose of industrial education, and the growth of colleges in Massachusetts. Part 2's titles are: (1) "The Magazine as Educator: Mary Mapes Dodge and 'St. Nicholas'" (L. B. Fuller); (2) "Book and Platform Over Anvil and Hoe: Horace Mann Bond and the Place of Industrial Education in the Black College Curriculum" (W. J. Urban); and (3) "The Colleges and the State in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts" (A. Tachikawa). In Part 3, "Studies in European Educational Ideologies", two papers cover Italian education prior to fascism and under fascism, and the third paper gives insights into Homeric educational philosophy. The titles for Part 3 are: (1) "Bottai and Fascist Educational Policy, 1936-1943" (A. De Grand); (2) "Education in Liberal Italy: Prelude to Fascism?" (F. J. Coppa); and, (3) "An Alternative Approach to Homer's 'Iliad'" (R. H. Beck). The proceedings and the business meeting's minutes are included. (DJC)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

As editor I wish to apologize for a serious omission in the 1984 Volume12 issue of the journal. John D. Marshall, co-author of the paper, "The Twilight of Public Alternative Education: Professional Malignancy, An Historical Perspective" was omitted, as one of the authors. The co-authors should read, James T. Sears, Trinity University, San Antonio, and John D. Marshall, University of Texas, Austin.

Edward Rutkowski

PART I

Issues in 20th Century American Education

CONFLICT OF ROLES: EVANGELISM AND FEMINISM
A TWENTIETH CENTURY PERSPECTIVE?

Rita S. Saslaw, Associate Professor
The University of Akron

The reform spirit of the ante-bellum nineteenth century has been explored by numerous historians. The social changes evoked by this spirit touched the lives of children through education, blacks through abolition; and all of the people of America through the second Great Awakening, industrialization and the democratization of religion and government. The literature also leads one to believe that women joined in this change through education as academies, seminaries, and coeducational and single sex colleges offered formal education for increasing numbers of women. Little is known of the lives of American females in this period, but it has been assumed that most educated women followed the path of their uneducated sisters to marriage and motherhood. This study attempts to add to this limited body of knowledge by studying the lives of 2,051 women who attended the Oberlin Ladies Course and Oberlin College between 1836 and 1860.[1] If viewed from a twentieth century feminist perspective, the outcome of this research reveals that authors such as David Allmendinger, Phillida Bunkle, and Roberta Wein have been correct in viewing the changes in the roles of these women as minor rather than revolutionary. When the lives of the women are examined in the evangelical religious spirit of the time, however, the changes may be considered major.[2] The role of the male may have been totally redefined in the nineteenth century; but the female identity redefinition of this period, in spite of her newly acquired education, centered around her status as tender, Christian nurturer of her family and of society.

The college level education of women did accompany an expanded set of activities for middle class women. The new roles for women began a century of an educated, emerging leisure class female who engaged in teaching for at least a part of her out-of-the-home life and in philanthropy for the remainder. Or in the view of such men as evangelist Charles G. Finney, the new role allowed a choice to replace genteel idleness with a vocational decision for conversion.[3] She became a part of the "dedicated army of urban morality foot soldiers fighting urban vice. . . ."[4] Such an individual was the Oberlin College student. Glowing obituaries and necrologies declare that the late former student or graduate was a solider in the army for Christ, taking His battles to the cities, to the frontiers of Iowa, or to the missionary sites of Jamaica, Africa, and China.[5] Through all of this effort, these women were always described as being gentle, warm, tender and acting as "God's appointed agent of morality."[6] How

8

well she filled her role of soulwinner while her husband emerged as breadwinner![7] Yet, outspoken and often radical Lucy Stone, an AB graduate of 1847, is described in a history of coeducation at Oberlin:

> She was not considered a pretty girl by the standards of the times, but with her lovely rosy color, her abundant hair, the abounding vitality which went with a gentle, winning manner, it is not strange that she proved to be an uncommonly attractive one. Her voice was of exceptional carrying power, and yet so sweet that its charm became a tradition.[8]

So it is her tenderness and her latent femininity that are stressed in this record for posterity and not her notable career in Women's Rights, which could become her epitaph. One expects more of Oberlin College, the first coeducation degree granting college in America, and one would be correct in this assumption if one sees religious evangelism as an occupation.

The above expectations and assumptions come from the way that Oberlin Collegiate Institute was founded in 1833 as the educational arm of the Oberlin Colony. Oberlin Collegiate Institute, or the Oberlin College Department as it soon became known, provided a vehicle for social change to take place through college education, and this reform spirit won the College a firm place in American educational history. The evangelical impetus to reform was a simple one — the total, immediate elimination of sin,[9] but it is a more complex view of millennial faith that will be dealt with in this paper. The Oberlin Colony was the dream of a New England migrant, John Jay Shipherd, who saw himself as a new Jean Frederick Oberlin.[10] Shipherd planned to found a new colony of consecrated souls in a virgin area that was free of all sin. There it would become an effective evangelical agency. A school was to be an integral part of this plan. The school would educate the ''hopefully pious'' so that they might become missionaries and school teachers who would work in the fertile, wicked field of the Mississippi Valley.[11]

The intent of the school was to give a useful education to as many as possible with as little expense as possible. The Manual Labor department was to provide funds for the student's education and to aid the students in maintaining their health. The school was to educate both sexes and, in fact in 1841, granted the first AB degrees given to females in the United States. The battle for educating all men and women was settled early at Oberlin by providing for faculty control of the College:

> Resolved That the question in respect to the admission of students into this Seminary be in all cases left to the decision of the Faculty to them be committed also the internal management of its concern, provided always that they be holden amenable to the Board and not liable to censure or interruption from the Board so long as their measures shall not infringe upon the laws or general principles of the Institution.[12]

Because of the nature of the faculty, the future of Oberlin College was indelibly set by these rather vague terms of the Board of Trustees. Among the faculty, Asa Mahan and John Morgan from the Lane Seminary were known abolitionists, as was Charles Grandison Finney, the model evangelist and early feminist. These three men, with the support of the rest of the faculty, the trustees, and the students, made history as they brought Oberlin into the anti-slavery and feminist movements through the vehicle of religious evangelism.

What, along with the individuals named, made Oberlin unique? Other colleges educated Negroes.[13] Other colleges prepared missionaries and teachers. Other colleges allowed faculty control to a greater or lesser extent.[14] Other colleges did not, however, make social change a prime concern of their college program. Nor did other colleges have 2,051 females enrolled in a brief period of 24 years. In addition, Oberlin did not always follow the traditional pattern of the classical curriculum. In fact, there is evidence that Asa Mahan, the first president, led a personal crusade against the classical, heathen authors.[15] While this is overstated, Oberlin did not always require that the students have a firm background in Latin and Greek, but rather a pious character. Perhaps it is this leeway that allowed for such an influx of females who would have been unable to attend and be successful at a college requiring preparation in the classics.

Except for the large percentage of females, the student body at Oberlin demographically resembled that at other western colleges. Students came primarily from Ohio and western New York and the neighboring states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Indiana. College students during this time period usually attended college within eighty-eight miles of their home.[16] The revivalism of Oberlin College was well known, as was the involvement in reform movements such as temperance and the related physiological cleansing of Grahamism. The abolitionist sentiments were known as far away as England, from where a few students came. A myth has developed that a different spirit existed among the students, and prospective enrollees expressed their desire to come to Oberlin to participate in the spirit of reform and moral self self-improvement that existed there. Even with this notoriety the majority of students in this sample followed the traditional pattern and were from Ohio. Many did have parents, brothers and sisters who attended the college.

Place of Entry into the College

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
Ohio (Balance of State)	991	48.8%
Oberlin	335	16.5%
States Bordering Ohio	180	8.9%
New England	103	5.1%
New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware	295	14.5%
Other	19	.9%
South	14	.7%
West of Mississippi, Wisconsin, Illinois	86	4.2%
West Coast	8	.4%
	2031	100.0%

When one looks at birthplace there is a population shift to Oberlin that along with personal accounts indicates a possible move for the education available in northeast Ohio. Only thirty-nine percent are born in Ohio, while sixty-five percent lived in Ohio at the time of their entry to the college.

Place of Birth

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
Ohio	288	36.8%
Oberlin	25	3.2%
States Bordering Ohio	68	8.7%
New England	142	18.2%
New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware	194	24.8%
Other	24	3.1%
South	15	1.9%
West of Mississippi, Wisconsin, Illinois	22	2.8%
West Coast	4	.5%
	782	100.0%

The atmosphere at early Oberlin College was a deeply religious one. "The consciousness of a wicked world and an approaching day of atonement . . ."[17] were the concerns of the students and their teachers. It is this concern that Finney addressed when he described the challenge met at Oberlin:

> The history of Oberlin has been very romantic. If it were written, it would provide that "facts are sometimes stranger than fiction." I have lived to see more accomplished than I ever expected. And now when I walk the streets and see our throngs of students and our fine buildings going up, and recall the danger overcome, and the obstacles removed, in our early history, it reminds me of the saying, "A little one shall chase a thousand," and I am ready to put my hand upon my mouth, before the Lord, and be still.[18]

This certainly could have proven to be a dangerous statement for an evangelist with much of his life ahead of him.

While the college leadership and reputation were perceived by former students and graduates to have had a profound impact upon their future lives, one must also look at the other influences upon these young men and women.[19] This has been done with the hope of separating the influence of the "new education" from that of the "new society." Is it the emergence of the new leisure class of middle class women, working outside the home to help their husbands and society, that appears to have had a greater impact upon the women studied rather than their new education? If so, in one generation changes in society such as the invention of the "cotton gin riveted the chains of the slave, in contrast they freed Anglo-Saxon young womanhood."[20] Or was the greatest influence upon these women Finney's doctrine of Christian usefulness?[21] One must also survey the vast amount of twentieth century feminist research that attributes motivation of women to the "cult of true womanhood" or the "mask of oppression." Education of females in the seminaries or through the popular press helped to maintain the status quo by describing or teaching about the perfect female.[22] These generalizations often tend to confuse the contribution of women to the history of society. "In essence, history becomes an external process, a force which presses against women's lives without a reciprocal interaction."[23]

Perhaps it was not for the reform characteristics of the institution alone that the future students chose Oberlin. As the data reveals, proximity and often family connections with the institution provided a rationale for attendance. Robert Fletcher, the Oberlin College historian, tends to promote the reputation thesis when he states: "Oberlin was about the only college left for young radicals to attend." Fletcher is referring to the period in the mid-thirties that saw ideological conflicts in many colleges. Students came from Lane Seminary, Marietta College, Oneida Institute, and from Western Reserve to Oberlin College seeking a compatible home for their abolitionist ideas.[24] On the whole, however, the students at Oberlin College were from surrounding areas or had personal contacts in the College.

Parents Attended Oberlin

Known that parents did not attend	13
Known that parents were students	18
Parents were faculty members	10
Parents were Oberlin residents	6
Parents were trustees	13
	60

Siblings and Children Attending Oberlin

Number of Siblings Attending	Subjects	Number of Children Attending	Subjects
1	158	1	112
2	77	2	60
3	25	3	27
4	26	4	15
5	18	5	10
6	20	6	2
7	5	7	1
8	9	8	0

Husbands Attended Oberlin**

Yes	781
No	453
Missing	826*

*Probably should be classed as did not attend

**This would only indicate continued interest or the nature of the marriage market found at the college.

While attendance of parents, sisters and mothers seems to explain attendance at Oberlin, and often to help the selection of a marriage partner there are no indications that the attendance of other family members assured graduation.

		Status Non-Grad	Grad LL	Grad BA	Grad MA	
No. of Siblings at Oberlin	0	7	12	—	1	20
	1	104	46	3	2	155
	2 or more	117	46	8	9	180
		228	104	11	12	

Statements do remain that indicate the reputation of Oberlin attracted students to the College. Frederick G. Wright, a graduate who returned to teach science and write many scientific works, stated in his autobiography that he went to Oberlin because of its anti-slavery and religious leanings.[25] Women, too, were influenced by the reputation. Adelia A. Field Johnston, another graduate who returned to teach, commented upon the strenuous life in Oberlin and the intoxications of the ideas that were approached.[26] The remarks by both Johnston and Wright were written in retrospect when the place of Oberlin as a haven for pre-Civil War reformers had been well established. Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell undoubtedly chose Oberlin as the site for their education for the opportunity it offered to be educated equally along with the male students.[27] Care was taken by Stone as if she knew that a letter written by a woman would not be acceptable, she asked her brother to write her application to Oberlin.[28] The letters of application must be read carefully because of the reason for their composition, as Oberlin College had more female students than could be accommodated. Much more can be found out about the kind of individual Lucy Stone was by reading some of her later letters or appeals. One letter that comes to mind is that one written by Lucy Stone to the daughter of a college friend. The young lady had addressed her as Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell, which, incidentally by custom was her name. Stone answered in a form that could still be the cry of the women's rights movement: "I am only Lucy Stone, have never had a prefix or suffix."[29] In this same letter she informed the writer that she continued to give all that she had to the women's rights movement, an activity she had joined in her student days. By the letter quoted above and by other items, one can see that Stone was one of the special people that came to Oberlin College. Certainly all of the students were not of this caliber, and even the special Lucy Stone might not have come to Oberlin because of its reputation, but merely to be educated along with men, the assumption made earlier. In the time period studied, the females were not enrolled in the college in large numbers.

School Attended

College	180
Ladies Course	1,868
Ladies Course and College	55
	2,103*

*Some counted twice

Graduates

College (AB Degree)	52
Ladies Course (Diploma could apply for an L.B. [Bachelor of Letters] in 1894 when the Ladies Course was terminated)	362
	414

A definite trend can be noted in the enrollment of the male students at Oberlin in the 24-year period. Of the 162 students enrolled in the Collegiate and Theological Departments of the College in 1836, all but ten came from New England, New York, and Ohio. When the entire student body of Oberlin was tabulated, there was a total of 310 students in 1836. Of this number, 120 were from New York and 112 were from Ohio. When the home addresses of these students were checked, it was apparent that they were from rural areas. It is not surprising that so many students came to Oberlin from New York. A careful picture has been drawn of Oberlin College and its brand of religion. Certainly the New York student of the "Burnt-Over District" would find the religious atmosphere at Oberlin to his or her liking. New York funds also supported the institution.[30] The Tappans were among these contributors and certainly recommended "their" College to people from the area. Finney, too, spent a long period of his life in New York and was well known there for his religious fervor.

By 1860, the attendance picture had changed radically. No longer did New York predominate, although it did remain in second place among the areas that students called home. Of the 221 persons registered in Oberlin College in 1860, 115 came from Ohio and only 30 gave New York as their home address. The above figures were for the Collegiate Departments only, and if the entire school attendance were considered, there would be 1,300 students and 900 of those were Ohioans. The larger figures can be deceiving, however, because they include prep students, who were probably so young that they would not have been sent too far away from their homes. The total figures lack information about females and are given only to indicate how provincial and perhaps homogeneous the College at Oberlin actually was. An earlier chart does indicate the distribution of females for the entire twenty-four-year time period.

Fletcher notes that his trend toward provincialism continued through the sixties, and in 1866 resulted in a college department that had only 48 of 132 students from outside of Ohio. Fletcher theorizes that throughout this period the students of Oberlin College came from areas settled by New Englanders and that the students were predominantly of New England stock.[31] The new data further supports Fletcher's notion by showing that church affiliation further supported homogeneity, and perhaps middle class status.

Church Membership

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency
Congregational	336	63.0%
Presbyterian	98	16.9%
Baptist	31	5.3%
Episcopal	19	3.3%
Catholic	2	.3%
Disciples of Christ	5	.9%
Other (Lutheran, etc.)	13	2.2%
Methodist	46	7.9%
African Methodist	1	.2%
	581	100.0%

Changed Church

Yes	78
No	395
Missing	1,589

A gulf developed between the classes in America in the pre-Civil War period, and the colleges did not prove to be a great social leveler.[32] All of the students at Oberlin appear to have been of the middle class, Edward Pessen's "uncommon Jacksonians."[33] As in other nineteenth century colleges, there were no farm or factory laborers enrolled. A very small percentage of the former students studied considered themselves to be even farmers or wives of farmers, and none called themselves laborers. While the Oberlin students cried great poverty, and surely they did lack funds, they were still a part of the emerging middle class. The increasing roles for women were a part of a changing middle class position. Graduates and former students tended to meet changing job markets that came as a result of economic modernization. Geographic mobility as well as the profession of the ministry caused occupational distributions that were not static and uniform.[34] It appears that there is not a need to study social class to determine influence upon future life.

Father's Occupation*

Farmer	72	38.7%
Lawyer	2	1.1%
Teacher/Professor	18	9.7%
Minister	18	9.7%
Missionary, Abolitionist	6	3.2%
Physician	17	9.2%
Carpenter	13	7.0%
Merchant, Business	40	21.5%
	186	100.0%

*Additional data will be added here after a search through the census that will be a part of the next phase of this research.

When one looks at a sub-sample of ninety-nine for whom both fathers' and husbands' occupation is available, one finds some interesting, and at this point, highly speculative data. Farmers' daughters did not marry farmers (1 of 45). The most common alliances were minister (19), teacher (6), lawyer (5). Merchants' daughters (20) tended to marry ministers (11) and two married businessmen. The balance of daughters of businessmen scattered randomly as did the daughters of fathers with all other occupations. One can only speculate that the move from the farm to other occupations was deliberate.

Further, Oberlin developed individuals with multiple careers who had a reputation as "masters of art in abolition," "assistant missionaries," and as leaders in various other reform movements.[35] The college did have a number of alumni who were active in the American Missionary Association and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. They certainly had at least their share of those who served on honorary boards and were members of the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution.

David Allmendinger has noted that this middle class distribution can also be found at Mt. Holyoke during this time period. There were few wealthy families but few poor ones represented there. At Holyoke, farming predominated as the occupation of the father, with unskilled workers composing less than two percent of the sample. The rural background resembled that of the Oberlin student body, and Mary Lyon, Holyoke's president, identified them as "county 'middle class.' "[36] This information on social status does bear upon future plans of female students. In the post-Civil War period, middle class status combined with marriage allowed leisure time for Christian reformers to support abolition, temperance, and other moral reform.[37]

To summarize, a majority of the students came from the northeast section of the country. There were almost no southerners as there were in other colleges in Ohio, such as Miami and Lane Seminary. There were few people from southern Ohio. The number of people directly from New England, the birthplace of the classical college tradition, was small and becoming less as the years went on. An analysis of the families revealed that their parents were farmers, ministers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers. Very few or none of the students were from the lower class. Poverty did not mean lower class status in the early nineteenth century as a shortage of funds was prevalent. When reading an account of the College in the *Oberlin Evangelist* that stressed that fact that the College inculcated social equality, one wonders what is meant.[38] A thorough understanding of Oberlin and its religious and reform ideas would indicate that the concept of social equality was taught and declaimed even though there was only one social class enrolled. At Oberlin, as in the rest of America, contemporary observers would probably have found a devotion to the spirit of equalitarianism but would also have found the gap between theory and practice.[38]

Was this gap due to a hidden bias toward Congregational Church membership? Those who expressed an affiliation with the Congregational Church stayed in the College longer and there was a significant difference in the percentage of graduates.

	Time in College		
	0-2 years	3-4 years	over 4 years
Congregational	322	31	7
Presbyterian	87	9	0
Baptist	28	3	0
Episcopal	15	3	1
Catholic	2	0	0
Disc. of Christ	4	1	0
Other	9	4	0
Methodist	40	4	1
AME	1	0	0

	Non-Grad	Graduates
Congregational	136	226 (62.4%)
Presbyterian	55	43 (43.9%)
Baptist	19	12 (38.7%)
Episcopal	11	7 (38.9%)
Catholic	2	0 (0.0%)
Disciples of Christ	1	4 (80.0%)
Other	8	5 (38.5%)
Methodist	25	19 (43.2%)
AME	1	0 (0.0%)

One must be careful of looking for bias at this stage, however, because student society membership seems to be the most significant indicator of graduation.

	Non-Grad	Grad LL	Grad BA	Grad MA	
St. Society Member	83 (23.9%)	212 (61.1%)	27 (7.8%)	25 (7.2%)	347 (100%)
Non-member	1484 (89.0%)	148 (8.9%)	25 (1.5%)	11 (0.7%)	1668 (100%)
		360			

Perhaps career planning on the part of the female students was also theoretical rather than practical. College officials of the nineteenth century held the limited societal view of the future work of the female, a "suitable and womanly job."[40] This appropriate employment as a teacher would take care of the new age gap in the life cycle that developed because of delayed marriage on the part of the more educated and career-minded male.[41] It is undoubtedly with this in mind that 29 young women who entered Oberlin in 1836 described their future goals as teaching and missionary work.[42] These occupations did not exclude marriage for they were regarded as training grounds for marriage and for lifetime work in Christ's vineyards. Role conflict dominates the literature of 1950 and not 1850.[43] So Lucy Amanda Kellogg entered Oberlin on November 9, 1835, with the following ambition: "Designs to prepare for Foreign Missionary labor or teaching in her native land as the Providence of God shall direct." Her plan was fulfilled as she was married on August 27, 1841, to a fellow student, James Austin, and they became missionaries in Jamaica. As in so many other cases, this dream ended with Amanda Austin's untimely death of consumption in Jamaica in 1846.[44]

In reality, the students at Oberlin College fitted the traditional occupational pattern. The graduates and former students of Oberlin College remained a part of the middle class. The college for them was a means of maintaining their positions or, in some instances, of improving their status and moving into leadership positions. No graduate or former student of Oberlin is known to have become a laborer either on the farm or in the newly forming industries. A limited number of the women studied did die in dire financial straits, but it must be remembered that poverty did not automatically change one's social class. Like those from other neighboring colleges, the largest percentage of Oberlin graduates entered the ministry. In descending order, they became lawyers, doctors, teachers, editors and college professors. For females, teaching was first. It was not unheard of to find a college founder or president among both the male and female graduates.

The following graphic display contains a summary of a previous study completed by the researcher on 171 females who were known to have belonged to the student literary societies in the years used:[44]

Oberlin College Ladies' Occupations and Marital Status

Ladies' Occupations	All students, All Years
Ministers & Missionaries	3
Teachers	4
Doctors	2
Public Offices	
Commissions and Surveys	3

Marital Status	1835	1840	1850	1860	Total
Married	13	22	36	70	141
Not Married	1	2	8	19	30

The females at Oberlin must be studied as a separate group inasmuch as it was evidently firmly understood that the women, even though they were educated, would become homemakers.[46] It is not by chance, then, that the following statistics results when a subgroup of the 2,051 were studied. Of the 171 women investigated, 141 were known to be married. Very few of the women listed any sort of career for themselves other than that of homemaker and helpmate. The role of helpmate to a minister or missionary husband cannot be viewed at a literal level only. It is true that more than four ladies were teachers some time during their lives, but that they did not feel that this work was important enough to list in the college alumni questionnaires because it was such a short interlude in their lifetime and considered by them as preparation for marriage. It is also true that the college listed only current occupations in the 1908 alumnae catalog, and homemaker was not viewed as work. It must also be remembered that this sample was of advanced age when the most comprehensive survey was conducted in 1908 and a great number of both men and women were "waiting" to "join the Lord."

When the achievement of the women was measured, it often was in terms of their children's achievements. One can find references such as the following: Mary Caroline Rudd Allen, was the mother of Rosa Allen, a talented musician, and Frederic DeForest Allen, a noted philologist. Another statement finds Catherine Moore Barrows to be outstanding because she was the mother of John Henry Barrows, Oberlin's fifth president.[47] Some of the women graduates of the Oberlin College Course or of the Ladies' Literary Course did achieve a certain amount of career success and some within the framework of marriage. Emily Huntington, Mrs. J.E. Miller, became the dean of women at Northwestern University. Mrs. Adelia Ford Johnston, who was mentioned previously, became the principal at the women's department at Oberlin. She held this position after the death of her husband, however.[48]

Betsey Cowles, Sally Holley, and Mary Patterson did not marry and did have careers. Mary Patterson, an 1862 graduate of Oberlin, was probably the first black woman in the United States to receive an AB degree. Patterson taught in Philadelphia at the Institute for Colored Youths and became the first principal of a new prep school founded for blacks in Washington, D.C. (Dunbar). When the school principalship was assumed by a black man, Patterson continued to teach in the school until her death.[49] Sally Holley, an 1851 graduate, dedicated her life to humanitarian causes. She was the daughter of Myron Holley, the abolitionist, and came to Oberlin from a reform-minded family. Holley became an accredited lecturer for the American Anti-slavery Society and many felt that Holley was the Society's most eloquent woman speaker. Betsey Mix Cowles, a member of a well known Oberlin family, became a teacher and an organizer of schools. Besides this career, she was a leader in the abolition movement in northern Ohio.[50]

The restraints of society cannot be underestimated, however, Frances Jackson, Mrs. Levi Jenkins Choppin, born a slave, wished to "get an education and become a teacher to my people." She achieved this goal and worked for many years in the institution that became Cheyney State College in Pennsylvania. She also volunteered as president of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society. This mulatto woman was permitted to become educated and to work on behalf of moral self-improvement but not to ride a streetcar in Philadelphia. This incident caused her to say to President Finney on a return trip to Oberlin that she was going in grace "as fast as the American people would let me."[51] Perhaps this also reflects the status of the American female in this century and the last. She is able to change only as society permits or as her own vision allows.

It appears that with the types of exceptions noted above, the new data bears out findings of the pilot study completed earlier upon the subsample. Most of the 2,051 women married and had children, as did other nineteenth century women.[52] They took great pride in their homes and families, creating in every Christian home a church with the mother as minister.[53] Their work, whether before or during marriage, met the pious ideal set for them by the nineteenth century society. They often continued to work alongside their husbands as teachers and missionaries. The constant moves by their minister husbands and large numbers of children and poor health probably prohibited these women from realizing some of their potential as "God's appointed agent of morality;" but certainly this did not hamper their religious zeal or their vocational choice. In the case of this group of women, the religious fervor is most often attributed to Oberlin College and Charles Grandison Finney. But one must also look at the strong religious beliefs of their families.

The greatest impact upon the future lives of the females studied appears to come from their marital status. This had a direct effect upon the moves that they made in their lifetimes as well as upon their function as child rearers. The following is a breakdown of both the marriages and the number of children.

Marital Status

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
Not Married	68	5.1%
Married	1,204	90.6%
More Than Once	57	4.3%
Total	1,329	100.%
*Widowed	4	
*Divorced	9	
Missing	733	

*Included in married once.

Number of Children

No Children	76	12.2%	36.9%
One Child	154	24.7%	
Two Children	96	15.4%	28.5%
Three Children	82	13.1%	
Four Children	71	11.4%	34.6%
Five Children	64	10.2%	
Six Children	41	6.6%	
Seven Children	21	3.4%	
Eight or More Children	19	3.0%	
Unknown (includes unmarried)	1,438	—	

Median = 1.9

An overwhelming majority of the population was married at some time in their lives. Of these, approximately 88% had at least one child. The population falls into roughly three equal segments with regard to number of children — those with one or less children, those with two or three, and those with four or more. The median number of children was 1.9, similar to the post-World War II era in this century. One must recognize, however, that these figures are biased toward a smaller number of children inasmuch as many children who died in infancy and early childhood may not have been recorded so as to be picked up in this study. Another source of impreciseness is the existence of stepchildren who may or may not have been recorded in a consistent manner. A subsample studied for the existence of stepchildren yielded the following statistics. In this sample of 644, 17 stepchildren were found. Of these 17 stepchildren, 8 were those of two individuals. Thus, 642 women really had among them only 9 reported stepchildren. Another problem with these figures is currently being worked on in the third phase of this study and that is the age of the women at the time of their entry to Oberlin and at the time of their marriage. There is no question that age at these critical time periods in the lifespan would have a bearing upon the number of children.

Since a predominant number of women in this group were married, it is important to see if the occupation of their husbands had any effect upon the future lives of these women. It can be assumed that if the husband was a businessman, lawyer, or perhaps even a physician, a wife would have little to do with his work. If the husband was a minister, missionary, farmer, or taught in or ran a private school, the wife might be very much involved and indeed would be more then a helpmate. Leonard Sweet has described this phenomena in his book, *The Minister's Wife*. "Minister's wife became occupation, a profession, a ministerial vocation."[54] This partnership was an advanced stage having evolved from companion and sacrificer to assistant and then finally to partner.[55] Sweet develops his thesis of transition from assistant to partner using the lives of Finney's three wives, Lydia, Elizabeth, and Rebecca. Lydia's influence on Oberlin students is well documented. Lydia and Charles Finney's living room served as site for counseling as well as marriage brokering for ministers and missionaries about to enter the field.[56] How many of the women were indeed active partners in their husband's work has been studied more completely and a survey of the occupations of the husbands follows:

Husband's Occupation
(Including Second Occupation)

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
Minister	164	34.0
Businessman	83	17.2
Teacher/Professor	57	11.8
Farmer	53	11.0
Physician	51	10.6
Missionary	41	8.5
Lawyer	30	6.2
Abolitionist	5	1.0
Other	140	29.0
	619*	129.3*
No. of individuals in Sample	482	100

Others included dean, college founder, elected official, etc.

*Second occupations counted in these figures.

One sees at a glance that between one-third and one-half of the husbands studied were at one time either ministers, missionaries or both. One would expect the nature of these occupations to result in a significant number of lifetime moves. The total population was studied for number of moves with the following results:

Number of Moves in Life

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
None	74	3.8
One	542	28.1
Two	623	32.3
Three	207	10.7
Four	153	7.9
Five	101	5.2
Six	72	3.7
Seven	44	2.3
Eight or More	112	5.8
Median = 1.56		

A finding of this data is that only 3.8% of the subjects made no moves during their lifetimes, while nearly 40% made three or more moves, with 5.8% making eight or more moves. This illustrates mobility that can be viewed in two ways. Constant moves interrupted traditional careers in teaching or moral improvement of society. This allowed the Oberlin women to influence an ever-widening group to consider evangelical perfection.

Further work is being done to correlate the relationship of this mobility with husbands' occupations. From this additional work, data will be generated that will provide some measure of the degree of mobility connected with husbands' occupation other than ministry or missionary work. The generation of cross-tables will be used to seek out all related factors and will be a part of phase three, the final phase of this research.

With the above information dealing with mobility, marriage, and husbands' occupation in mind, the researcher addressed the recorded occupations of the women themselves:

Subjects' Occupations

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
Teacher, Professor, Principal	514	82.2*
Homemaker	172	27.5
Missionary	69	11.0
Assisted Husband	40	6.4
Farmer	19	3.0
Abolitionist	6	1.0
Physician	9	1.4
Minister	4	.6
Other	119	19.0*
	952**	152.1**
No. of Individuals in Sample	625	

*Other includes lecturer, bookkeeper, editor, clerk and, certain educational occupations such as dean, college founder, and preceptress.

**Includes second occupations.

The most obvious feature of the above data is the predominance of middle class, professional occupations. It is noteworthy that only 27.5% of those in the subsample named homemaker as their occupation. Since 94.9% of the subjects of the total study were known to be married, and this sample contains 30.5% of the overall population, if all the unmarried fell within this subsample, then at least 83% of those in the occupation sample had to have been married at some time during their lives. This is the most conservative assumption that the researcher can make in concluding that a number of women actively engaged in professional occupations during their married life. Balancing this is the possibility that some of these women worked only before marriage or after divorce or widowhood. One hundred ninety-one of the subjects actually reported that they worked after marriage.

One way to approach this question of whether or not many women worked during marriage is to examine the distribution of the number of years that they worked:

Years of Work

	Absolute Frequency	Adjusted Frequency (Pct.)
0-5 Years	107	34.3
5-15 Years	94	30.1
Over 15 Years	111	35.6

Another way is to look at the relationship between marital status and years worked.

Years Worked vs. Marital Status

	Never Married	Married	
0-5 Years	4 (12.1%)	102 (41.6%)	106
6-15 Years	9 (27.3%)	72 (29.4%)	81
Over 15 years	20 (60.6%)	71 (29.0%)	91
	33 (100.0%)	245 (100.0%)	

One could reasonably conclude that those who worked less than five years did not work during marriage. One could also say that those who worked more than 15 years worked during their marriage or were single or early widows. The middle category, six to fifteen years, however, could include cases of both experiences. It seems warranted to conclude that somewhere between thirty to sixty percent of the subjects had active occupations during marriage. The more complex analysis will deal with the age of entry to the college and the age of marriage related to the years of work and whether they worked during marriage.

Among married subjects there was not only a percentage of working wives, but there was considerable volunteer activity. The volunteer activity often centered around the church and education. Of 446 graduates of the Ladies Course and the College, 195 reported activities such as The American Home and Foreign Missionary Association, The Moral Reform Society, The Free Kindergarten Movement, The Women's Christian Temperance Union, and The Daughters of the American Revolution. This would tend to support the idea that these women, freed from certain household tasks by the Industrial Revolution, could, because of their social status, be expected to have engaged in certain kinds of leisure activities. It is not unexpected that they chose these activities that promoted their evangelism.

This study to date must then conclude that there was a desire as a result of advanced education and that this feeling was deeply felt by many of these women as they attempted to set future goals. They resolved this concern by creating new roles for themselves and these roles revolved around the philanthropy allowed them by their newly found leisure time. This new time resulted from changes in the economy as well as those in education of women. These new roles were an outgrowth of the religious evangelism that they experienced at Oberlin College. Groups such as the W.C.T.U. were a natural outlet and a perfect use of their newfound leisure time. Indeed, college educated young women had found new ways to "socialize congenially with each other,"[57] but more importantly for nineteenth century women, had guaranteed a path to salvation.

Notes

[1] The 2,051 women attended The Preparatory Department, Oberlin Ladies Course or the College Department or any of the combinations of these three between 1836 to 1860. There were more female students at Oberlin College during this time period. They were prep students only and were not included in this sample. It should be noted that the College Course was a traditional classical course and the Ladies Course similar to that at later seminaries. However, some women did attend the classical courses.

[2] David F. Allmendinger, Jr., "Mount Holyoke Students Encounter the Need for Life Planning, 1837-1850," *History of Educational Quarterly*, 19 (Spring, 1979); Phillida Bunkle, "Sentimental Womanhood and Domestic Education, 1830-1870," *History of Education Quarterly*, 14 (Spring, 1974); Leonard I. Sweet, *The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth Century American Evangelism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983); Roberta Wein, "Women's Colleges and Domesticity, 1875-1918," *History of Education Quarterly*, 14 (Spring, 1974).

[3] Sweet, *The Minister's Wife*, p. 89.

[4] Marilyn Gittell and Teresa Shtob, "Changing Reform of the City," *Signs*, Supplement (Spring, 1980), p. 67.

[5] Much of the material for this study was taken from obituaries and necrologies found in the former student files in the Oberlin College Archives or in student files in the Alumni Records Office.

[6] Bunkle, "Sentimental," p. 23.

[7] Sweet, *The Minister's Wife*, p. 89.

[8] Frances Hosford, *Father Shipherd's Magna Charta: A Century of Coeducation in Oberlin College* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1937), p. 92.

[9] Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969), p. 79.

[10] Jean F. Oberlin was a Protestant pastor in Ban de la Roche in Alsace. The area was as isolated on and the people were poor and ignorant. Oberlin was successful in eliminating both the poverty and the lack of education as he was widely recognized for his achievement. This account can be found in Robert Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College From Its Foundation Through the Civil War*, I (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943), p. 92.

[11] Letter, J.J. Shipherd to Fayette Shipherd, August 13, 1832, Oberlin College MSS, Oberlin College Library, Shipherd Collection.

[12] Minutes of the Trustees, February 10, 1835, Oberlin College MSS, Treasurer's Office.

[13] Other colleges that admitted Negroes were Dartmouth, The University of Vermont, and Western Reserve College. John Fayette graduated from Western Reserve in 1836, while Oberlin's first Negro graduate was George Vashon, who was in the class of 1841. Sources: Flether, *A History*, p. 533, and a letter, O.N. Chapin to Carroll Cutler, February 19, 1876, Case Western Reserve University, MS, Archives, Cutler Letters.

[14] Letter, George Pierce to Henry Day, April 16, 1840. Western Reserve University MS, Freiberger Library, Day Letters.

[15] Delazon Smith, *A History of Oberlin: Or New Lights of the West Embracing the Conduct and Character of the Officers and Students of the Institutions; Together with the Colonists, From the Founding of the Institution* (Cleveland: R. Underhill & Son, 1837), p. 12.

[16] Burke, Colin, *American College Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982).

[17] Fletcher, *A History*, p. 809.

[18] Dedication of Council Hall, August 1, 1874, Oberlin College MSS, Oberlin College Archives, Robert Fletcher Papers.

[19] This information came from self-reports in student files in Oberlin College Archives and Alumni Records Office.

[20] Hosford, *Father Shipherd's*, p. 2.

[21] Sweet, *The Minister's Wife*, pp. 86-89.

[22] Keith Medler, "Mask of Oppression: The Female Seminar Movement in the United States," *New York History*, 55 (July, 1974) and Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer, 1966).

[23] Ann D. Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle, Nancy E. Schrom, "Women in American Society," *Radical America*, 5 (July-August, 1971), p. 10.

[24] Fletcher, *A History*, p. 185.

[25] Frederick G. Wright, *Story of My Life and Work* (Oberlin: Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1916), p. 1.

[26] Harriet L. Keeler, *The Life of Adelia A. Field Johnson* (Cleveland: The Korner & Wood Co., 1912), p. 25.

[27] It is possible that these special people were not always satisfied with Oberlin. In Antoinette Brown Blackwell's personal reminiscences she tells that Lucy Stone wrote to Miss Brown and told her not to come back to Oberlin because people at Oberlin did not think as Miss Stone did. Mrs. Blackwell further suggests that if she had had more money and better health she would have gone to another institution. Mrs. Claude U. Gilson (ed.), *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: The First Woman Minister*, Oberlin College MSS, Archives, Robert Fletcher Papers.

[28] Letter, Lucy Stone to W.B. Stone, July 9, 1842, Oberlin College MS, Archives, Robert Fletcher Papers.

[29] Letter, Lucy Stone to Miss Frances F. Munson, n.d., Oberlin College MS, Robert Fletcher Papers.

[30] Fletcher, *A History*, II, pp. 508-510.

[31] Ibid., p. 509.

[32] Pessen, *Jacksonian American*, p. 52.

[33] Ibid., p. 348.

[34] Burke, *College Population*, p. 138.

[35] *Oberlin Evangelist*, XXI (December 7, 1859), p. 200. Included also in this article was the concept that Oberlin was also involved in inculcating social equality. A study of Oberlin also found that the trustees of the College were well known for their association with religious and reform movements. The Trustees in Oberlin were less active in the College than trustees of other institutions, so it is difficult to evaluate their effect in the College. John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866-1917* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1969), p. 10.

[36] Allmendinger, "Mount Holyoke," p. 29-31.

[37] Gladys M. Haddad, "Social Roles and Advanced Education for Women in Nineteenth Century American: A Study of Three Western Reserve Institutions," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1980, p. 112.

[38] *Oberlin Evangelist*, XXI (December 7, 1859), p. 200.

[39] Pessen, *Jacksonian American*, p. 27.

[40] Marcia A. Horn, "Ideas of the Founders of the Early Colleges for Women's Education in American Society," (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey, 1977), p. 70.

[41] Allmendinger, "Mount Holyoke," p. 28.

[42] "Biographies of Women Students 1836," Typescript, Oberlin College Archives. This information was gathered from a group of papers written by the students and found by Robert Fletcher.

[43] Berenice A. Carrol, *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 122.

[44] Former student files, Oberlin College Archives.

[45] Rita S. Saslaw, "Student Societies: Nineteenth Century Establishment," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1971), p. 217.

[46] Richard B. Lillick, "The First Ladies' Literary Society," *The Gavel*, XXXIX (November, 1956), p. 5.

[47] Hosford, *Father Shipherd's*, p. 46.

[48] Ibid., p. 21.

[49] Fletcher, *A History*, p. 534.

[50] Ibid., p. 267.

[51] Ellen Henle and Marlene Merrill, *Women's Studies Newsletter*, 7 (Spring, 1979), pp. 8-9.

[52] The new study was based upon the total number of female students that were enrolled in the Ladies Literary Institute and The College between 1836 to 1860. The College Archives and Alumni Records Office hold student files on 1,602 of them and 1,219 have additional information beyond school attended, years attended, and place of entry. The data on non-graduates was not collected by The College until 1908. Because many of the non-graduates were dead by 1908, they comprise the largest part of the 1,219 for whom there is not additional information. The graduates were followed from the time of their graduation and provide a more complete range of data.

[53] Bunkle, "Sentimental," p. 19.

[54] Sweet, *The Minister's Wife*, p. 7.

[55] Ibid., p. 3.

[56] Sweet, *The Minister's Wife*, p. 92.

[57] Horn, "Ideas," p. 83.

JOHN COTTON DANA, THE NEWARK MUSEUM AND THE ARTS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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Historically, American museums have distinguished themselves from their European counterparts through their emphasis on education and their commitment to public service. The acts of incorporation of the first large urban art museums — The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, (1870) and the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, (1890) clearly state their educational objectives and commitment to enhancing the welfare of the general populous.[1] Nevertheless, with the turn of the century the moralistic value of art promoted by Victorian sponsors diminished. Many art museum leaders changed their focus from uplifting the moral character of society to the collection of rare objects and the pursuit of scholarship. Rather than creating cultural institutions reflective of unique American experiences and needs, these museum men turned instinctively to Europe for their ideas, where standards of excellence in art were based. As Theodore Low has argued, the major art museums "soon became little more than isolated segments of European culture, with an increasing tendency to aloofness and a distainful attitude on the vast majority of Americans." This attitude, coupled with an emphasis on academia, made "museums increasingly more impenetrable."[2]

By 1904 a debate over the proper functions of American art museums was in full swing. George Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute in charge of the National Museum, laid out the educational functions of museums in his address at the Brooklyn Institute in 1889, stating that "the museums of the future in this democratic land should be adapted to the needs of the mechanic, the factory operator, the day laborer, the salesman and the clerk, as much as to the professional man and the man of leisure."[3] Benjamin Ives Gilman, Secretary of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, countered Goodes remarks, in 1904, claiming that "an institution devoted to the preservation and exhibition . . . of fine arts is not an educational institution, either in its claim or consideration."[4] An educational institution, Gilman asserted, was a scientific museum which, devoted to observations, was in essence "a school . . . sacred to reason." An art museum, on the other hand, "devoted to valuations," was in essence "a temple . . . sacred to the imagination."[5] Gilman established the argument that would serve to separate American art museums from the public. But a number of museum leaders, for example Ernest Fenollosa (Boston Museum of Fine

Arts,) Henry W. Kent (Metropolitan Museum of Art,) Charles R. Richards (Smithsonian,) and Paul M. Rea, disagreed with Gilman's position.[6] Be that as it may, it was John Cotton Dana, (1856-1929) a librarian, who most effectively took up the gauntlet thrown down by Gilman by creating in the Newark Museum of Art, a distinctively American museum — a museum for the people, a museum of the American arts.

Dana's roots were seeped in the New England American tradition. A descendant of the minister John Cotton, after whom he was named, Dana was born in Woodstock, Vermont on August 19, 1856. He was the middle son of Charles and Charity S. (Loomis) Dana's five sons, the seventh generation from Richard Dana who came to America in 1640. Woodstock, the shire town (seat) of Windsor county, was regarded as one of Vermont's centers of legal practice, education, trade, and a leading influence in culture and social refinement. The Dana's were viewed as "an unpretentious, civic minded Vermont family whose scholars, professionals, and businessmen enhanced their community and personified the character of a fruitful era of American life."[7]

Dana's youth was spent attending the village schools, taking care of the cows and chickens on the family farm, and playing in his father's store. It was there, admist the crates and boxes filled with objects from foreign lands, that Dana first experienced a love of practical and beautiful objects. Concomittantly, he developed an interest in the philosophy needed to attract and keep customers, and in the attention paid to practical and mechanical arrangements.

After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1878, ill health forced Dana to seek his fortune out west. For ten years, between 1878-1888, Dana travelled back and forth, from East to West, in pursuit of "a vocation, spiritual understanding, good health, and a life of purpose and fulfillment." He experimented, seeking his place in life trying law, mining, civil engineering, farming, insurance, real estate, surveying, preaching from the Unitarian pulpit, newspaper editing, and living the "outdoor life of a wanderer." In 1886 he wrote a college friend, "(I) am not teaching, but have been coming to the opinion that it is my 'spear' and am now looking for a chance to spread my pedagogical wings."[8] His chance came in 1889 when he was appointed director of the Denver Public Library.

As librarian, Dana found the ideal place where his zeal for books and his pedagogical beliefs could be made available to all. Having had no formal training as a librarian, direction came from a personal philosophy ripened during years of reading, thinking, and wide exposure to life, while the execution of his ideal was implemented by his practical yankee sense. Dana strove to make libraries vital institutions. His goal was to provide the tools and means toward self-education and knowledge for all.

Education, he claimed, was learning, which one did best alone, and not by being taught. Dana's primary objective was "to get the public to come to the library and to keep them coming."[9]

As a public institution, Dana believed that the library was owned by the citizens, that it had to be driven unrelentingly into the life of the city. To achieve this end, Dana spent ten years revolutionizing library practice as director of the libraries in Denver (1889-1898,) Springfield (1898-1902,) and Newark (1902-1929.) Long before he began thinking about museums, he delivered an address, at the occasion of his election to the presidency of the American Library Association in 1895, in which he stressed a philosophy that was to guide his direction of museums. He said

> "See that your library is interesting to the people of the community, the people who own it, the people who maintain it. Deny your people nothing which the book shop grants them. Make your library at least as attractive as the most attractive retail store in the community. Open your eyes to the cheapness of books at the present day, and the unimportance, even in the small library, of the loss of an occasional volume; and open them also to the necessity of getting your constituency in actual contact with the books themselves."[10]

From the beginning of his career in Denver, Dana believed in the importance of combining literary with visual education. In Denver, Dana worked to improve the quality of art in the public schools. "The Denver Public library built up a picture collection for circulation through the schools, and helped to interest school art instructors in Oriental art and the newer developments in Europe." Of the picture collection, which was started in 1891, he stated

> "Thousands of designs have been gathered . . . and mounted on cards for use . . . with drawing . . . the beginning of what will soon become a collection invaluable for teaching graphically almost every branch of study."[11]

The use of visual aids was also encouraged by the school museum which was connected with the Denver Public Library. In Springfield, Dana became so involved with the art museum associated with the library that he had an altercation with the director over museum management practices. Thus by the time Dana arrived in Newark, in 1902, he had had considerable opportunity to study museum organization and to develop his ideas on museum management.

In 1909 Dana initiated the Newark Museum Association, which remained in the main Public Library building until 1925. As librarian, Dana had philosophized "the worth of a book was in its use," and the same axiom guided his direction of the Newark Museum. The worth of the museum was in its use by the public, not in its collections of rare and beautiful objects.

An outsider in the field of art, Dana nevertheless became a foremost advocate of art museums' responsibility to educate the public, as he wrote, spoke, and goaded controversy. Dana was critical of the growing introversion of museum staff with their emphasis on scholarship and acquisition of objects, and on the insignificant efforts at education. He chastised art museum professionals for caring more about rare and beautiful objects from foreign lands than for their own communities and cultural expression.

> "Of course it is not the Egyptian's mummy necklace which stands in the way of display of modern necklaces; but the spirit of curators, experts, directors, and trustees. They become enamoured of rarity, of history . . . They become lost in their idea of a museum and forget its purpose. They become lost in working out their idea of a museum and forget their public. And soon, not being brought constantly in touch with the life of their community through handling and displaying that community's output in one or scores of lines, they become entirely separated from it and go on making beautifully complete and very expensive collections, but never construct a living, active and effective institution."[12]

The Newark Museum was designed as an institution of visual instruction. Objects arranged pleasingly and grouped in meaningful order were used to illustrate a process, to demonstrate an ideal, to explain a people or a nation, to stimulate taste in good design, to encourage production of beautiful goods, and to enhance the quality of life for all people. The museum was not started with paintings. It was started with the idea that it would be a museum which the common people might appreciate and enjoy. It was to be a working community museum.[13]

In creating his concept of the ideal art museum, Dana employed his pragmatic yankee sense and his businessman's instinct. Realizing he could not hope to compete with the collections of the older great art museums, Dana turned his attention toward the community. The new museums, he asserted, were to be "institutions of service" not "palaces of gloom." Dana foresaw that "in a changing world, museums must change their ways to . . . conditions of life . . . we see so much, hear so much, and read so much that things a few decades ago that challenged our attention and caught our interest now leave us indifferent," he asserted. The institutions which most affected and altered social consciousness, and which were the greatest competitors to museums, were, in Dana's view, the department store, movie theaters, and newspapers.[14]

As the bookstore had been a model for Dana's library, so the large department store became an example for Dana's museum. It was the example of changing wares in department stores that made Dana realize the importance of frequently changing exhibitions. "A great department store of the first class, easily reached, centrally located, open at convenient hours, is perhaps more like a good museum of art than any of the museums we have yet established," he stated. "It displays interesting objects that are a part of our life, it fills a definite need, it sends its patronage away with the recollection of beautiful things."[15] When the Newark Museum was built in 1925, it was located in the heart of the city; was simply designed, so as not to intimidate or dwarf the public; displayed frequently changing exhibitions; promoted the exhibition of simple everyday objects; was open at hours convenient to the working public; and was free of charge.

Although Dana was the first to admit he had no real knowledge of art, and was not a particular fan of modern art, per se, he became the first director of an art museum to encourage the exhibition of modern American painting and sculpture. Critical of American museums for not displaying and helping the development of indigenous art, Dana's appraisal of the situation was reflected in his 1914 pamplet, *American Art: How It Can Be Made To Flourish.* He stated

> "The eyes of our American public, unfortunately, have been turned toward the art of other lands. Their purses have been opened wide for the purchase of the (fashionably expensive) installations of the antique and exotic . . . they have opened hardly at all to the men and women who are working here and know. If art is to flourish in our land it must be supported by our museums and by our rich and private collectors."[16]

The best way to bring about a Renaissance of American art, Dana asserted, was to patronize, buy, exhibit, study and criticize American work. Accordingly, the Newark Museum became an avid proponent of American art. The innaugural exhibition of the Newark Museum's new building in 1925, included the first exhibition of the New York "Eight." Subsequent exhibitions on the American Primitives in 1930, and American Folk Sculpture in 1931, (after Dana's death) and the purchase of paintings and sculpture which followed them, left a marked influence upon the attitudes of museums toward American art.

A pioneer in the field of industrial design and machine art, Dana believed that if art is to be significant in a democracy it must reach the populous. In championing industrial art and design, Dana's philosophy was pragmatic, democratizing, and educational. Newark was essentially an industrial city, and Dana wanted the museum to be of service to Newark's manufacturers by acquainting the population at large, many of whom worked in the plants, with the goods produced, and the steps in the manufacturing process. He also hoped to inspire manufacturer's interest in better design and workmanship for the products, thus enhancing the quality of life for all. If thereby the industrialists became friends and supporters of the museum, so much the better.[17]

In 1921 the first museum exhibition of contemporary design in America opened at the Newark Museum with a display of German decorative art by the Werkbund. "It introduced . . . the most advanced tendencies in craftsmanship and industrial design, already stirred by the same forces that stirred the Fauves and Cubists," and led to the organization of the Bauhaus. The Werkbund aspired to bring the artist, designer, and craftsman into collaboration with industry and trade.[18] There followed exhibitions on New Jersey Clay and Pottery in 1915, a textile exhibition of 1916, and exhibitions of the work of Newark's jewelry firms, hardware, leather makers, manufacturers of floor coverings, wall paper housewares, and in 1929, the year of Dana's death, a series of small displays on well designed objects bought in the five-and-dime. Dana saw the movement in decorative arts as a movement toward machine art which he felt "derives from the life we are living, a life in which machine production, highly organized industry, commerce and science, and invention play the dominant roles." Machine art expressed Dana's ideal — collective art which is the result, not merely of one person's self expression, but the creative expression of a great conscious group."[19]

The Newark Museum reached out to its public in a multitude of ways: through the public library and its branches; through services to public schools; through small exhibits in department stores; library branches, schools, neighborhood centers and factories; and through the various hobby and participation groups that were encouraged to meet in the museum. Additionally, it established a mobil museum, much like a mobile library, which lent over 300,000 objects annually to public schools, community organization, factories, and the like. Another effective means of reaching out was the organization of children's hobby groups into a Junior Museum where the children could come and see museum collections especially designed for them and participate in various activities.[20]

Advertising was another means through which Dana aspired to involve the public with the Museum. Ever the astute businessman, Dana understood the importance of "selling" his product. When he started out in Denver, Dana knew he had to "sell the library," and therefore consulted the best known advertising expert, Nathaniel C. Fowler of Boston.[21] Advertising, Dana believed, was the most efficient means of widening horizons and promoting the knowledge necessary to get the most out of life.[22] Moreover, in his article, "Arts Best Friends are the Advertisers," 1927, Dana stipulated that not only were the advertisers the chief promoters of art, but advertising was also the primary means through which the public was educated to art. "Advertising does more for the arts than do all the teachings of our public schools," he asserted. "It easily out strips our museums of art, for it stimulates production among all of our 115,000 people while museums slightly stimulate appreciation among a few thousand."[23] Conscious that as he advertised the museum and library, so he advertised himself, Dana commented in a letter to Dartmouth

> "More has been said in the press in the past three years about my two institutions, and incidentally about me, than has been said about them in any previous ten years. Confidentially, this publicity has been a part of a campaign by Library and Museum to make them and Newark known. It is an unescapable incidental of such publicity that a man's name is often printed. So I'm now widely known."[24]

Similarly, Dana conveyed his ideas about art, museums, and education through his prolific writings which appeared in such diverse publications as *Forbes, Creative Art, Nation, The New York Times Magazine, The Woman's Home Companion, The New Republic, The Advertising News, Library Journal, Arts and Decoration,* and *The Survey Graphic.* Clearly Dana was interested in reaching a broad population; his writings were not restricted to his professional peers.

Exhibitions at the Newark Museum were also used to promote international goodwill and understanding. After World War I Dana displayed an exhibition of German industrial art, hoping to help diminish the hostility towards the Germans through the common language of art. However, rather than diffuse animosity, it was suggested by some, that Dana was traitorous, an accomplice to the German cause. Other more successful exhibitions were: The Columbian exhibition of 1918, depicting the natural and economic resources of Columbia, its culture and life of its people; and "China: The Land and the People," in 1923, which showed the noteworthy achievements of the Chinese through four thousand years of history.[25] In response to Dana's efforts to create sympathetic understanding of other people through their arts and crafts, he was made Director of the Deutscher Werkbund in 1922, and an honorary member of the Library Association of China in 1925.

A significant contribution to the development of educational programming in American museums was the initiation of an apprenticeship program in 1925. Dana's program evolved from a system he had establishment while at Springfield. As he had had an eclectic background for his vocation in libraries and museums, so he believed that anyone trained to work in a museum or library should be familiar with the community with which they were dealing and not just with the protection and interpretation of objects. Rather than specializing in such area as art, science, or natural history the apprentices were trained in the departments and functions of the museum and library. The program emphasized in-museum, hands-on experiences with specific attention to making "the contents of a museum interesting, and above all, helpful to the community."[26]

A vivid personality Dana was pungent, provacative, mischievious, mordant, kind, critical, radical, intense, versatile, stimulative, deeply sympathetic, and pronouncedly creative.[27] And, he was a successful businessman. Dana sold his product; his accomplishments were noted the world over. Arlene Alexander, sent by the French government to study American museums, after World War I, called the Newark Museum "a model of good sense and originality." In 1935, a visitor to Russia from Newark, discovered that the director of the Moscow state Museum of Children's Books had adapted many of Dana's techniques.[28] The American Magazine of Art stated that "among our American art museums the most revolutionary, or the most progressive, is and has been since the first, the museum in Newark."[29] Rockwell Kent, the well known American painter, stated that Dana's policy on modern art "represents . . . the ideal museum attitude toward contemporary art."[30] And Henry W. Kent, Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and noted for his accomplishments in education, claimed that "Dana's philosophy and humanity will be remembered as having changed for the public good, the whole trend of institutions (art museums) in their relation to the people."[31]

Nevertheless, Dana's visionary experiments were not above reproach. In equating the fine arts with contemporary craftsmanship Dana failed to see the intrinsic value of the rare, the creative artistic impulse, and the importance of the antique in teaching history. Dana went as far as to equate copies with originals, again displaying short sightedness in the experience one encounters with original work: the fact that duplications and copies loose, in their translation, the emotion and feelings of the original work. Dana's embracement of machine art and industry was almost naively optimistic. He seemed unaware of the dehumanization that accompanied the industrial revolution and had remained a major source of consternation. Dana's business sense was a guiding light to his success, he knew how to market his product. Again, his blindly enthusiastic embrace of advertising and the commercialization of his product failed to take into account the commercialism that would ensue and obviate all but the most superficial types of museum education. Today museums are criticized for encouraging consumerism at the expense of art appreciation.

Still, the practical benefits of commercialization are indisputable. Museums have adopted sophisticated marketing and promotion techniques to target fund raising sources and to reach new constituencies. Gift shops and museum cafes have become popular amenities and bring in substantial revenue; and publicity campaigns (like the King Tut Exhibition sponsored by Exxon in 1976) successfully cater to public interest and reflect Dana's philosophy. Educational programs, lectures, concerts, films, brochures, and tape recorded tours enhance and greatly increase museum populations.

The theories Dana developed and put into motion proved to be successful in reaching out to the public. Dana's innovative concept of lending museum objects had far reaching effects in making art a part of the American community. Today these ideas have become woven into the fabric of daily life. Picture collections on loan to artists, students, and laymen; music libraries with scores of records; theater collections, art divisions — are all standard functions of our libraries. Educational departments, internship programs, junior museums, school programs, community galleries and programming are now standard operations in American art museums. That American art museums have become distinguished for their educational and community programming, is evidenced by the fact that the United States Information Service regularly sends museum professionals all over the world to help create such programming. That such a program even exists reflects an international demand for such advice. American art now stands amongst the most esteemed and New York has become the art capital of the world.

Fundamentally Dana's theories and approach to museum problems grew out of the man himself. His Puritanical background embedded in him a civic consciousness that dominated his professional career. During his 27 years in Newark, Dana wrote and talked on education in its widest sense, as the only solution of all social problems. By viewing museums and libraries as the only "free peoples' universities" in which such education could take place, he revolutionized museum management by making an art museum of service. In so doing he attracted the attention of other countries to this new type of museum which was not just a "gazing gallery" of little use.

Dana's legacy is the distinctively American art museum with its educational programs, cafes, gallery shops, and community programs. Dana's legacy is also the international acclaim and recognition awarded the American arts, the regular exhibition of industrial design in art museums, and the display of photographic art. And, Dana's legacy is the use of visual aids in education. Dana was emphatically an American, not a pseudo-European; it was from the American social scene that he created his museum.

Notes

[1] Theodore Low, *Educational Philosophy and Practice of Art Museum*, pp. 11-13, 15.

[2] Ibid, p. 28; Theodore Low, *The Museum as a Social Instrument*, p. 9.

[3] George Brown Goode, "Museums of the Future," Annual Report of the U.S. National Museum (Washington, D.C.) Part II, pp. 245-246.

[4] Benjamin Gilman, "On the Distinctive Purposes of Museums of Art," *Journal of the British Museum Association*, (January 1904) vol. 3, p. 216.

[5] Gilman, "Goode's Thesis and It's Antithesis," *Proceedings of the American Association of Museums*, vol. 9 (1915) p. 26.

[6] Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, "Art Museums and Their Relation to the People," *The Lotus*, Part I, vol. IX, no. 11, (May 1896) p. 844; Low, *Social Instrument*, p. 12.

[7] Jeanette M. Lowe and Peter S. Jennison, *The Dana House Collection*, pps. 1, 6.

[8] John Cotton Dana, 1917 Report to Dartmouth College Class of 1878, pps. 3-4.

[9] Dana, "Getting An Education is Learning Not Being Taught," p. 1; Barbara Lipton, "John Cotton Dana and the Newark Museum," p. 21, 23.

[10] Frank Kingdon, *John Cotton Dana*, p. 57.

[11] Holger Cahill, "John Cotton Dana and The Newark Museum," p. 12.

[12] Dana, *The Gloom of the Museum*, p. 23.

[13] Lipton, p. 23.

[14] Dana, "In a Changing World Should Museums Change?," p. 17-22.

[15] Dana, "Museums of Service," pps. 581-585.

[16] Dana, *American Art: How It Can Be Make to Flourish*, p. 4.

[17] Lipton, p. 42; Dana, "Cash Value of Art in Industry," p. 2.

[18] Cahill, pps. 24-25.

[19] Dana, "Cash Value of Art," p. 2.

[20] Cahill, p. 13.

[21] "John Cotton Dana, Librarian," *The Advertising News*, (Dec 23, 1916.)

[22] Dana, "Advertising: The Essence of Public Service," *The Advertising News*, (Dec. 23, 1916).

[23] Dana, "Art's Best Friends are the Advertisers," p. 12.

[24] Dana, Report to Dartmouth, p. 17.

[25] Cahill, p. 27.

[26] Karen Cushman, "Museum Studies: The Beginnings, 1900-1926," p. 14.

[27] Chalmers Hadley, *John Cotton Dana*, pps. 6-7.

[28] "Influence of John Cotton Dana World-Wide, Miss Winser Says," *Newark Sunday Call*, (Sept. 22, 1935.)

[29] *John Cotton Dana: 1856-1929*, Obituaries, pp. 37-38.

[30] Ibid, p. 38.

[31] Ibid, p. 54.

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS AND THE FREE ENTERPRISE CAMPAIGN IN THE SCHOOLS, 1929-1949

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Introduction

American business interests faced the greatest challenge to their power and influence during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Until that time, they had exercised an autonomy which knew no significant threat from countervailing powers such as organized labor or the federal government. The consolidations and mergers of the early decades of the twentieth century had served to concentrate further the wealth and power of American businessmen so that they not only dominated the economy, but also kept both the government and labor in check by increasing business political resources through the work of employer associations and other business interest groups. The prosperity of the 1920s only added to the complacency of business and the belief that the natural order of business leadership would endure.

The depression which began in 1929 revealed to the public a business community which was quick to point the finger of blame for the economic collapse of the country at others, yet lacked the leadership to pull the nation out of economic chaos. As the depression deepened, the public turned to the federal government and, through the 1930s, supported its regulation of the economy — and business. The result of this growth in government authority was the beginning of a complex struggle for power and influence between the business community and the federal government. When the government further strengthened itself through its legislative support of the labor movement in 1933 and again in 1935, alarmed businessmen adopted a more militant attitude and took their defense of the American system of free enterprise before the public.

Business leaders courted favorable public opinion to armor themselves against the growing strength of government and organized labor. Their first public relations move in the 1930s was to defend the free enterprise system by expounding its virtues. Their second action was to win public support for business leadership by demonstrating the social responsbility of business as exemplified in its ideology of Welfare Capitalism. This approach to convincing the public of the trustworthiness of business revealed that efforts to sell the business point of view amounted to more than just a struggle for economic power; it was a battle to establish the moral authority of business and its right to impose business values on the larger society.[1]

The business community had a lot to lose if it were unsuccessful in its campaign to sell business values to the public. For this reason, business interest groups took full advantage of all available forms of mass communication in order to reach the general public and attempted to catch an even broader audience by gaining the support of influential groups in the society. Churches, women's organizations, and agricultural associations were all targets of the public relations campaign in the 1930s and 1940s; but none were considered as fertile for the purpose of indoctrination as the schools. The value of schools as agents of social control was not overlooked by industry as the leaders of the corporate state made their long-term plans for the restoration of business supremacy over the social order of the United States.

The National Association of Manufacturers

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) was organized by Thomas P. Egan, an Ohio manufacturer, who hosted a meeting of industrialists in Cincinnati in January of 1895. The central concern of this group was the restoration of business prosperity which had declined as a result of the depression of 1893 and the demise of the protective tariff. Foreign trade was a major issue of discussion as was business leaders' freedom from outside intervention — especially from federal regulation and organized labor — in the affairs of business.[2] The NAM was to serve its members as an interest group engaged in pro-business lobbying and the dissemination of information about American industry.[3]

The fledgling association underwent a number of organizational changes in its early years of operation in order to centralize policymaking power in the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee as well as to attract the members and financial support necessary for survival, but it was not until 1903 when the NAM adopted a militant, anti-labor stance that the association began to gather the strength it needed to engage in intensive lobby activity and to conduct propaganda campaigns on a national scale.[4] From 1903 until the early 1920s the NAM expanded its authority through its growing membership of small- and medium-sized business concerns and through affiliated groups brought under the NAM umbrella of influence by satellite organizations such as the Citizen's Industrial Association, the National Council for Industrial Defense — which became the National Industrial Council in 1919 — and through *ad hoc* alliances with farm, trade, community, and patriotic organizations.[5]

The economic prosperity of the mid-1920s combined with the decline in influence of organized labor turned out to be less than a cause for celebration by business groups such as the NAM. Business leaders perceived little threat to their positions of social and economic preeminence during the "Dollar Decade," and many turned away from interest group activities. The events of 1929 and succeeding years set in motion a process of national economic collapse and further drained the memberships of employer associations. By 1932 the NAM in particular was about to expire.[6]

The NAM was revived in 1933 by a group of big business leaders known as the "Brass Hats." These men chose the NAM as the vehicle through which they planned to unite the business community in common cause, combat the effects of the New Deal, and restore the public's faith in business leadership.[7] The Brass Hats were determined to create a united voice of industry which would serve to answer criticisms of business' failures to keep the country from sliding deeper into depression. The aggressive leadership of the Brass Hats resulted in a transformed NAM which was restructured and reorganized to put the association on a more sound financial basis and to centralize control in the hands of an active minority of big business leaders. From 1933 until the late 1940s the NAM was dominated by executives from the major industrial concerns of the nation who perpetuated their own influence by dominating the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee, and the executive positions of the association.[8]

The conservative points of view of the active minority of the NAM on issues such as federal legislation affecting industry, social legislation which increased the tax burden on manufacturers, and organized labor which directly threatened business leader's autonomy over the laboring force were popular among the business community as demonstrated by the rapid rise in NAM membership from 2,864 members in 1929 to 7,500 by 1939 and to 16,500 by 1949.[9] Association finances also soared from an annual expenditure of $177,000 in 1932 to $1,439,548 in 1937 to $4,603,627 in 1947.[10] These figures make it clear that many in the business community found the NAM an outlet through which they could voice their frustration with the federal government and the organized labor movement. As a result, the NAM became recognized as the largest and most influential employer association in the Unites States in the 1930s and 1940s;[11] and, through its Public Information Program campaign to preserve the free enterprise system and create a favorable climate of public opinion for business, the NAM earned the title of the "Voice of American Industry."[12]

The NAM, as the Voice of Industry, channelled the thinking of the business community by promoting "Unit Thinking and Unit Acting" among members through extensive internal indoctrination via pamphlets, memos, mimeographed materials, magazines, newsletters, meetings, and audio-visual aids.[13] The association also magnified its role as representing a united front of business opinion to increase the legitimacy and strength of its propaganda appeals — as well as to increase the pool of

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business financial and other resources on which the NAM itself could draw — to both non-member industrial concerns and the general public.[14] The party line of organized business was sold via the NAM's Public Information Program.

The Public Information Program was set in motion in early 1934 by the newly created Public Relations Department of the NAM. Funded by subscriptions collected from manufacturers by the National Industrial Information Committee — an NAM satellite created in 1935 for this purpose — this program rapidly expanded its dissemination of pro-business propaganda to employers, employees, other special interest and community groups, and to the general public.[15]

The major goal of the Public Information Program was to "sell" the material and social benefits of the American system of free enterprise and business leadership to the American public.[16] Because the NAM recognized the schools as an "almost unlimited field of distribution"[17] for the association's educational literature through which it could enlist the support of teachers — an important "opinion-molding" group — and students — the public of tomorrow — the NAM carried on an extensive campaign to "tell industry's story."[18] Through the late 1930s and the 1940s the NAM disseminated free "economic and social study materials"[19] to the schools in an attempt to defend and promote the values and leadership of business before American youth.

Propaganda in the Schools

The efforts of the NAM to indoctrinate youth through pro-business materials introduced into the schools in the 1930s and 1940s did not represent the first such effort of an outside group to determine the content of school curricula. Investigations in the 1920s had revealed similar attempts, such as those of the National Electric Light Association and Prohibitionist groups, and had served to increase both educators' and the public's awareness of the potentially negative influence on youth of biased curricular materials. The stage was set for a fight against the introduction of "propaganda" into the schools,[20] but the economic situation into which the country was suddenly thrust in the early thirties shifted attention away from this issue.

Unfortunately for educators, the economic chaos of the early thirties directly affected the schools as many businesses could no longer pay their taxes. As the financial base of the schools was cut away, a crisis in education was created and educators became more concerned with keeping schools open than in resisting the influence of business interest groups.[21] When business leaders responded to educators' pleas for financial support by calling for schools to "economize,"[22] the rift between educators and business leaders was widened; however, bad feeling toward business could not close the doors of economically depressed schools to the flow of free supplies and curricular materials from the business community.

Some educators welcomed much-needed supplies, and many others were forced to give in to a qualified acceptance of pro-business "educational" materials.[23] The NEA as well as prominent university educators called on state departments of education to establish guidelines against which educators could evaluate free materials and either reject objectionable works or balance biases by presenting opposing viewpoints.[24] Educators were called upon to "keep the method of intelligence elevated above the method of force"[25] and to use the educational setting to counterbalance the influence of propaganda through lessons in objectivity by the teacher.

In the mid-1930s, the NAM illustrated the renewed interest of business leaders in the schools as a means by which to counter the trend toward socialism which organized industry proclaimed as the major goal of the New Deal.[26] The business community felt victimized by federal legislation, particularly that which encouraged the expansion of the labor union movement, and sought to mold public opinion and instill "right thinking" in youth by stepping up its educational programs directed at the schools.[27] The following sections clarify the motives behind the NAM's free enterprise campaign in the schools, the messages contained in NAM educational literature, and the methods the association employed to disseminate industry's story to American school children.

Motives

Employer's associations, such as the NAM, were examples of united action taken on the part of business to marshall their monetary and political resources in order to pursue group interests.[28] The strategies the NAM adopted and played out in the 1930s and 1940s were motivated by the desire of the organized business community to resist all forms of intrusion on business autonomy and to restore public confidence in business as the "trustee of the national economy."[29] In other words, self-preservation was the prime motive of organized industry in its campaign to preserve a free enterprise system of economic organization.

To achieve the goal of preserving the power and prestige of business leadership by preserving the free enterprise system, the NAM conceived of its Public Information Program as a means of countering what was viewed by business leaders as the misrepresentation of industry to the people. The literature of the Public Information Program was intended to combat the "economic illiteracy" of the public[30] by educating public opinion.[31] Public enlightenment which would lead to the formation of public opinion favorable to business leadership became the NAM's campaign promise to its members.

The growth of the NAM in size, financial resources, and influence through the thirties and forties was illustrative of the degree of conviction behind the business community's belief in its leadership abilities and its faith in the NAM. The Voice of Industry carried industry's story to a variety of audiences — employers, employees, other business groups, patriotic organizations, farm associations, clergy, community groups, educators, and students — and never varied from its central message about the benefits of business economic leadership over the period of this study.[32]

The Message

The analysis of NAM literature disseminated to the schools in the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s revealed that the association promoted the material and social benefits to Americans of a free enterprise economy run exclusively by American business leaders as its central message.[33] Through a variety of techniques — such as the use of appeals to emotions or prejudice, appeals on a personal level, appeals to authority, passionate conclusions or generalizations, or the manipulation of the truth[34] — the NAM expounded on the positive points of business leadership and free enterprise.

A number of themes emerged from the examination of the NAM's educational literature which found repeated use throughout the 1930s and 1940s. These themes were as follows:

Free Enterprise as the American Way
Business Leadership and American Progress
The Material Value of Industrial Progress
The Social Value of Industrial Progress
The Social Responsibility of Business Leadership
Government Power and the Preservation of the Free Enterprise System
Planned Economy as State Socialism
Industrial Peace[35]

The common thread woven through the NAM's development of these themes was the identification of business leadership with the material and social welfare of the people.[36] The NAM linked the success of the American way of life to a history of success in business leadership which had raised the standard of living in the U.S. higher than that of most other countries and tried to build confidence in the potential of business in the future to raise that standard even higher. The voice of organized industry realized it could not hope to restore to public confidence or a position of responsibility a business community which could not convince the public of business leaders' ability both to lead and to act in the public's best interests.

Methods of Dissemination

Through the work of the NAM's Special Committee on Public Information, the association was able to disseminate a variety of educational literature to the schools which "popularized the facts about industry."[37] The most important and popular vehicle of business points of view distributed by the NAM in large numbers to the schools was the You and Industry Series which was first issued in 1936 and was reissued in new editions or series in 1938, 1940, 1942, 1943, and 1947.[38] Copies of each edition of the series were sent to elementary and secondary school principals, school librarians, and to public libraries across the nation;[39] and millions of additional copies were sent on request. To encourage educators to order these pamphlets as well as other printed literature and audio-visual aids recommended as supplementary curricular materials for use in the schools, the NAM began in 1939 to publish a *Bibliography of Economic and Social Study Materials* which listed free educational "aids" produced by either the NAM or the National Industrial Council.[40] These bibliographies were broadly distributed to elementary and secondary school principals and librarians, and were often accompanied by a selection of NAM literature.[41]

While the bulk of the materials made available to the schools consisted of pamphlets and reprints of speeches, the NAM also made available transcripts from association-sponsored radio programs such as the "American Family Robinson" and George E. Sokolsky's weekly economic comments in the late 1930s. In the 1940s the association again made available transcripts from such NAM programs as "It's Your Business" and "The American Story," but the NAM regarded its radio broadcasts themselves more as a way to reach students in their homes and reinforce the messages contained in the NAM educational literature they had received in school.[42]

The student audience was also cultivated through the placement of cartoon-like features such as "Uncle Abner Says" and "The Pocketbook of Knowledge" which were similar in format to "Ripley's Believe It or Not" in both daily metropolitan and rural, weekly newspapers;[43] and the NAM began to produce several pamphlets in a comicbook format in the late 1940s. *Fight for Freedom!*, *Watch Out for Big Talk*, and the Startling Facts Series were examples of the association's use of a simply written message about free enterprise presented in an entertaining and attractive package to children.[44]

The NAM also realized that the use of visual communication in the sale of the American system of free enterprise could become as important as the distribution of written materials. The association judged visual media as "uniquely adapted to reaching children — at school or elsewhere — and to affecting their thinking."[45] Because of their great popularity with both students and teachers, the NAM made available to the schools the reel films and sound slide films it had begun producing in 1936 and added new films throughout the 1940s. Narrated by such reknowned public figures as Lowell Thomas, NAM films found widespread use in the schools and were often shown as short features in public theatres.[46]

In September 1944, the NAM reached out more directly to educators with the free publication *Trends in Education-Industry Cooperation*. This magazine adopted a newspaper-like format and contained numerous articles which included reports on meetings between educational and business groups; addresses by business leaders to educators or by educators to business leaders; government legislation affecting education; commentary on legislation which affected business; statistics and charts on such topics as the parallel between higher levels of education and increased earning power, the American standard of living, and measures of industrial progress; and advertisements of NAM educational materials. *Trends* was advertised as an effort by business leaders to establish lines of communication with educators and to encourage cooperation between both groups on the local level. *Trends* was so popular that, by 1949, 48,000 monthly issues were being sent to school administrators and educators.[47]

The Changing Business-Education Relationship

This research revealed that the NAM reevaluated its approach to dealing with the public in the late 1930s due to the defeats the business community had suffered both in the court of public opinion and at the hands the government-labor alliance promoted by the New Deal. With the reelection of President Roosevelt in 1936 and the Supreme Court validation of the Wagner Act, it was clear that the business community's efforts since 1934 to create a climate of public opinion favorable to business economic leadership had not worked.[48]

The backlash of negative public opinion with which the NAM and the business community were faced in the late 1930s had resulted from the defensive orientation of organized industry in the preceding years. The belligerant stance which business leaders had taken against both government and organized labor had alienated the public and stimulated business antagonists to mobilize even more to usurp business authority.[49] The business community had to face the fact that a continued hard line could soon destroy all hope of restoring the faith of the public in business leadership. The NAM took the lead in helping manufacturers reevaluate their defensive approach to public relations and adopt a more conciliatory and cooperative attitude toward the federal government, organized labor, and the public in order to improve the business image. A swing in public opinion was needed, and the NAM came to exemplify industry's modified voice.[50]

As the decade of the forties began, the NAM's literature began to evoke the positive images of good times rather than the militant business reaction to hard times.[51] The NAM took the offensive in selling to the public a story of business' desire to demonstrate greater social and economic responsibility.[52]

Business leaders had begun to show a renewed interest in education in 1936 and the NAM markedly increased its dissemination of propaganda to the schools from that date. The association began to adopt statements of policy on education which indicated business interest in contributing on the community level more adequate financial support for the schools, and the association encouraged business executives to exhibit greater interest in their local schools—especially by serving on school boards.[53] Unfortunately for the good intentions of some members of the business community, a situation was brewing which would soon explode into a major controversy and almost ruin efforts to establish a mutually beneficial relationship between the business and educational communities.

The United States' involvement in the war effort had begun to escalate in 1940, and many industrialists saw the rising spirit of patriotism in the public as a perfect opportunity to enlist support for the American Way of free enterprise. In the spring of 1940, the NAM began its "Mobilization for Private Enterprise" campaign. The association enlisted local manufacturers as "Sentinels" to keep their eyes on local school social study materials in order to identify and eliminate subversive works and to promote free enterprise by encouraging teachers to use NAM social study materials.[54] These activities culminated in a NAM-sponsored investigation of school social studies texts by Ralph Robey and a group of educators, economists, and social scientists.[55]

The Robey investigation was intended by the NAM to identify school social study materials which had anti-business or anti-government points of view. The investigating team produced six hundred abstracts of school texts and offered them as "guides" to persons interested in the content of school curricula;[56] however, the reaction to educators to this attempt by a powerful business interest group to reach into the schools motivated out of self-interest quickly made it clear that this investigation was not viewed with favor. A storm of controversy and critical attacks on the business community was unleashed and the NAM was forced to step back immediately, abandon such efforts, and attempt to repair the damage done to business-school relations.[57]

In order to clear the air over the Robey Report, the NAM worked hard through its Committee on Educational Cooperation (created in 1938) to establish ties with both the NEA and local groups of educators. Numerous conferences sponsored by the NEA and the NAM were held from 1942 through 1944 and more informal meetings were encouraged throughout the mid-1940s.[58]

The NAM continued to express the good intentions of the business community toward education throughout the postwar years by supporting increased levels of financial support for the schools — a move which was also motivated by a desire to keep the federal government out of the schools. Business leaders did not want to see this influential social institution slip out of their hands and they moved quickly, again motivated by self-interest, to adopt policies which called for higher levels of giving from business to help raise teacher salaries, improve school facilities, and purchase adequate curricular materials.[59]

Both business leaders and educators had a lot to gain from an improved relationship — for quite different reasons. Business leaders courted educators to armor themselves against the possible encroachment of alternative economic systems and to build goodwill for industry; educators needed money. As a result, many educators were receptive to the overtures of organized business in the late 1940s, particularly due to the fact that the business community was demonstrating itself to be more responsive to the needs of the schools. Business leaders had come to see educators more as partners in the preservation of American democracy and the free enterprise system than as servants to the corporate state.[60]

The NAM's popular, late-1940s sponsorship of Business-Industry-Education Days[61] exemplified the spirit of cooperation and partnership in pursuit of common goals desired by the business community. To develop and expand such programs on the local level and to earn greater educator acceptance of its involvement in the schools, the NAM removed all of its educational programs involving direct contacts with the schools from the Public Relations Department and placed responsibility for their conduct with the newly created Education Department in 1949.[62] This move created a less controversial source for the NAM's educational activities because the public often associated the word propaganda with public relations; it also pulled on the prestige of the word education to impress the public with the sincerity of the NAM's desire to avoid any bias in its educational literature. Through the education department, the NAM coordinated all community and national-level programs directed at cultivating the educator and student audiences and earning favorable reviews for both the free enterprise system and the quality of American business leadership.

Conclusions

The business community responded weakly at first to the economic chaos of the early depression years; but, as it became apparent that the initiative of economic leadership had been lost to the federal government, business leaders gathered their strength and invested their great monetary resources in militant business interest groups such as the NAM. Fortunately for the NAM — an employer association which as experiencing a serious decline in membership in the early thirties — a group of big business leaders chose that association as the major vehicle through which to voice their dissatisfaction with federal government intervention in the affairs of business. The NAM grew in response to the need for a representative voice to take industry's story before the public.

From 1933 the NAM's membership and financial resources grew rapidly as big business interests invested in the association's Public Information Program in order to create a more favorable climate of public opinion within which they could work to regain the position of power and influence they had lost by failing to exercise economic leadership and pull the country out of depression. Throughout the thirties and forties the NAM was dominated by an active-minority group of big business executives who not only helped strengthen the NAM through their financial support, but who also increased the association's influence by shaping business thinking and promoting "unit thinking and unit acting" among members of the business community.

The NAM became known as the Voice of Industry and engaged in a large, well-organized, well-financed campaign to preserve free enterprise by selling business values to the public via propaganda which attempted to popularize business leadership. Through its campaign to educate public opinion, the association reached out to special interest and community groups via all available forms of mass communication to achieve its short-term goal of earning the favorable opinion of the public and its long-range goal of restoring economic leadership to business executives.

By reevaluating its defensive approach to public relations in the late 1930s, the NAM was able to increase its effectiveness by taking the offensive and using the return to economic good times and the wartime spirit of patriotism in the forties to its advantage to achieve a public relations victory for the free enterprise system and business leadership. The turn in the tide of public opinion during the war also helped the NAM realize its greatest goal of breaking both the federal government's and organized labor's hold on business. In the postwar years the association successfully campaigned against government legislation of the economy and, with passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1948, won a major victory over organized labor.[63]

After the successes of restoring to business leaders a significant measure of power and prestige and effectively checking the growth in power of organized labor, the NAM again entered a period of decline. Because the need for a united voice of industry had diminished, big business leaders began to drop their memberships in the association in 1949. The loss of their financial support decreased the potency of the NAM as an interest group,[64] and the association again came to represent small- and medium-sized business concerns as it had in the early 1920s.[65]

Although the NAM's major goals had been to break free of federally legislated restrictions on business enterprise and to resist the encroachment of organized labor on business autonomy in the area of labor relations, the NAM was influential in creating two situations beneficial to both the public and business: (1) the NAM helped improve relations between the business community and the educational community and set the stage for higher levels of support for education in the 1950s,[66] and (2) the NAM helped improve the quality of corporate communication with both employees and the public and helped establish public relations as a peaceful, permanent, integral part of management policy.[67] Business had sold itself on the necessity of exercising social responsbility and communicating to the public that business stood ready to act in the public's interest.

Notes

[1] Howell John Harris, *The Right to Manage: Industrial Relations Policies of American Business in the 1940s* (Madison, Wisconsin: Univsity of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp. 9-10, 180.

[2] William H. Becker, *The Dynamics of Business-Government Relations: Industry and Exports, 1893-1921* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 44; Allen Chapline, "The National Association of Manufacturers and Its Efforts to Influence Education" (Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia Teachers College, 1948), p. 8; Richard W. Gable, "A Political Analysis of an Employer's Association: The National Association of Manufacturers" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951), p. 2; NAM, *The Nation's Industry — Synchronized: Being a Brief History of the National Association of Manufacturers* (New York: NAM, 1928), pp. 3, 5; NAM, "Significant Highlights of the Organization and History of the National Association of Manufacturers: 1898-1948" (New York: NAM, 1948) p. 4. (Mimeographed.); and Albert K. Steigerwalt, *The National Association of Manufacturers, 1895-1914: A Study in Business Leadership*, Michigan Business Studies, vol. 16, no. 2 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Dean-Hicks Company, 1946), p. v.

[3] NAM, *Nation's Industry*, p. 13; and Nancy Mayo Waterman, "Pressure Groups in Action: The N.A.M.," *Forum* 106 (December 1964):519-520.

[4] Steigerwalt, *National Association*, pp. 128, 151-152, 184-202; Albion Guilford Taylor, *Big Business: Economic Power in a Free Society*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. 15, no. 1: *Labor Policies of the National Association of Manufacturers* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1927; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1973), pp. 14, 35; Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 109; and L. Harmon Zeigler, *Interest Groups in American Society* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 110-111.

[5] Phillip H. Burch, Jr., "The NAM as an Interest Group," *Politics and Society* 4 (Fall 1973):100; Alfred S. Cleveland, "Some Political Aspects of Organized Industry: (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1947), p. 78; Gable, "Political Analysis," pp. 168, 181, 231; David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 203-206; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *The National Association of Manufacturers*. S. Rept. 6, 76th Cong., 1st sess., 1939, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, pt. 6, pt. III, p. 47; and James Q. Wilson, *Political Organizations* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 277-278.

[6] James Warren Prothro, *The Dollar Decade: Business Ideas in the 1920s* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1954), pp. xiii–xix, xvii; John Stalker, "The National Association of Manufacturers: A Study in Ideology" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1950), p. 122; and Wilson, *Political Organizations*, pp. 155-156.

[7] Glenn Porter, gen. ed., *Industrial Development and the Social Fabric*, 6 vols. (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1979), vol. 3; *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950*, by Richard S. Tedlow, p. 62; Sol Alexander Rippa, "Organized Business and Public Education: The Educational Policies and Activities of the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, 1933-1956" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1958), pp. 57-58; Stalker, "National Association of Manufacturers," pp. 3-5; Richard Steven Tedlow, "The National Association of Manufacturers and Public Relations during the New Deal," *Business History Review* 50 (Spring 1976):30; Truman, *Governmental Process*, p. 201; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, p. 44.

[8] See Burch, "NAM as an Interest Group," who details the active minority rule of the NAM through the period of this study.

[9] Cleveland, "Political Aspects of Organized Industry"; Gable, "Political Analysis"; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, p. 48.

[10] Gable, "Political Analysis, p. 366; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 42, 48.

[11] This statement was supported by numerous sources but, for the sake of brevity, only the most substantially documented works were cited here: Robert A. Brady, *Business as a System of Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 191; Burch, "NAM as an Interest Group," p. 130; Karl Schriftgiesser, *Business and Public Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 94; Temporary National Economic Committee, "The Nature of Pressure Groups," in *Roots of Political Behavior*, eds. Carlton Snyder and H. Herbert Wilson (New York: American Book Company, 1949), p. 247; Truman, *Governmental Process*, p. 254; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 220-222.

[12] George Douglas Blackwood, "Techniques and Stereotypes in the Literature of the National Association of Manufacturers Concerning Industry and Labor" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1947), p. 1; Brady, *Business*, pp. 3, 220-222; Stuart Chase, *Democracy under Pressure: Special Interests vs. the Public Welfare* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1945), p. 31; "Give Business a Chance to Recover, Becoming the Keynote," *N.A.M. News Letter* 1 (20 April 1934):7, Robert Leathan Lund, *Industry Speaks through the N.A.M.* (New York: NAM, 1938); NAM, *The Relation of Government to Industry* (New York: NAM, 1940), backcover; NAM, *What Is the N.A.M.?* (New York: NAM, 1944), 5; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, p. 205.

[13] This phrase was frequently used in other NAM literature after the publication of *Unit Thinking and Unit Acting on the Part of American Industry* by the NAM in 1935; see also Gable, "NAM," p. 261.

[14] Valdimer Orlando Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, 5th ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), pp. 87, 91; Truman, *Governmental Process*, p. 220; S. H. Walker and Paul Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice: Management's Effort to Sell the Business Idea to the Public* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), p. 53; Frederick Crocker Whitman, "The National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America" (Senior thesis, Princeton University, 1936), p. 64; and L. Harmon Zeigler and G. Wayne Peak, *Interest Groups in American Society*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 21.

[15] Chapline, "National Association," p. 20; Gable, "Political Analysis," pp. 355-358; NAM, *Annual Report of President* (New York: NAM, 1934), p. 7; NAM, *Interpreting Free Enterprise to Grassroots America* (New York: NAM and the NIIC, 1945), p. 3; and Whitman, "National Association," pp. 118-119.

[16] Brady, *Business*, pp. 215, 289; Earl Bunting, "Selling the Enterprise System" (New York: NAM, 1947). (Mimeographed.); Gable, "Political Analysis," p. 263; Harris, *Right to Manage*, p. 184; Rippa, "Organized Business," p. viii; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 155-156; and Walter B. Weisenburger, *Your Day in the Court of Public Opinion* (New York: NAM, 1942).

[17] Clarence J. Karier, "Business Values and the Educational State," in *Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Clarence J. Karier, Paul C. Violas, and Joel Spring (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 6, 17.

[18] Blackwood, "Techniques and Stereotypes," p. 47; Bunting, "Selling," p. 5; Lund, *Industry Speaks*, p. 2; NAM, *Annual Report*, p. 6; NAM, *NAM Leadership in 1944* (New York: NAM, 1944), p. 8; George E. Sokolsky, "Crystallizing Public Opinion Nationally" (New York: NAM, 1938). (Mimeographed.); and Weisenburger, "Interpreting Industry," pp. 9-10, 15.

[19] The title, *Bibliography of Economic and Social Study Materials*, was used by the NAM from 1939 to 1947 for its pamphlets which described NAM publications available to teachers in the schools. After that time, the name was changed to *Catalogue of Teaching Aids*.

[20] Edwin C. Broome, "Report of the Committee on Propaganda — Abstract," *Proceedings of the NEA* (28 June-4 July 1929):204-217; William G. Carr, "The Riddle of Propaganda in the Schools," *American School Board Journal* 85 (September 1932), p. 26; William G. Carr, "The School Child and Propaganda: The Conundrum of the Educator," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1931):598; and "No Propaganda in the Schools," *Literary Digest* 102 (20 July 1929):11. The major argument of these authors against propaganda was that propaganda consisted of preconceptions or misleading opinions or facts which produced closed minds, whereas the purpose of education was to create open minds.

[21] American Council on Education, *The Citizen's Conference on the Crisis in Education* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1933), p. 4; NEA, Research Division, *Emergency Federal Aid for Education: A Review of the Evidence* (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1934), pp. 4-5; and Rippa, "Organized Business," p. 26.

[22] Sol Alexander Rippa, "Retrenchment in a Period of Defensive Opposition to the New Deal: The Business Community and the Public Schools, 1932-34," *History of Education Quarterly* 2 (June 1962):80.

[23] William Wishart Biddle, *Propaganda and Education*, Contributions to Education, no. 531 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), pp. 3-7; Broome, "Report of the Committee on Propaganda," pp. 208-214; Frederick Elmore Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace*, Century Social Science Series (New York: Century Company, 1933), pp. 316-318; and Howard L. Parker, "A Plan for Sifting Propaganda in the Schools," *Elementary School Journal* 33 (December 1932):277-278. These authors pointed out that many interest groups borrowed on the prestige of the word education in their propaganda campaigns in order to legitimize their work.

[24] Biddle, *Propaganda and Education*, pp. 3-7; and Broome, "Report of the Committee on Propaganda," pp. 211-214.

[25] Bruce Raup, *Education and Organized Interests in America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), p. 288.

[26] Blackwood, "Techniques and Stereotypes," p. 29; NAM, "The Future of the American Enterprise System" (New York: NAM, 1939), pp. 3-4. (Mimeographed.); NAM, *Limited Government and Personal Freedom* (New York: NAM, 1930), p. 17; John Howard Pew, *What the Future Holds for the American System of Free Enterprise* (New York: NAM, 1939), p. 14; and Henning W. Prentis, Jr., "Our American Heritage," *Vital Speeches* 5(15 June 1939):519.

[27] Stalker, "The National Association of Manufacturers," p. 418.

[28] Key, *Politics, Parties*, pp. 87-91; Truman, *Governmental Process*, p. 220; and Zeigler and Peak, *Interest Groups*, p. 21.

[29] Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, p. 3.

[30] Bronson Batchelor, *Profitable Public Relations* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1938), p. 239; Rippa, "Organized Business," p. 60; and Tedlow, "National Association," p. 31.

[31] Lund, *Industry Speaks*.

[32] See chapter seven of the larger work from which this author condensed this paper: Colleen A. Moore, "The National Association of Manufacturers: The Voice of Industry and the Free Enterprise Campaign in the Schools, 1929-1949" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Akron, 1984).

[33] Ibid., pp. 392-399.

[34] Biddle, *Propaganda and Education*, pp. 2-7, 24, 32; Blackwood, "Techniques and Stereotypes," pp. 59-96; Lumley, *Propaganda Menace*, pp. 116-117, 141, 145-146, 156, 159; Truman, *Governmental Process*, pp. 223-227, 241-242; and Zeigler and Peak, *Interest Groups*, pp. 115-118.

[35] See Moore, "National Association," chapters four and six.

[36] Blackwood, "Techniques and Stereotypes," p. 24; Morrell Heald, *The Social Responsibilities of Business: Company and Community, 1900-1960* (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970), pp. 111, 194; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, p. 74.

[37] U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 160-161.

[38] Ibid.; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, pp. 72-73.

[39] Truman, *Governmental Process*, p. 223.

[40] Steigerwalt, *National Association*, p. v.

[41] Gable, "Political Analysis," p. 352.

[42] NAM, "The American Story" (New York: NAM, 1949). (Transcript.); Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, p. 35; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, p. 160; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, p. 30.

[43] Gable, "Political Analysis," pp. 332-333; "New N.A.M. Cartoon Feature," *N.A.M. Newsletter* 5 (15 April 1938):7; and Tedlow, "National Association," p. 39.

[44] All of these works were published during the 1949-50 school year.

[45] Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, p. 32

[46] Kent Watson Leach, "Education and the National Association of Manufacturers" (Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1952), p. 43; NAM, "Community Public Relations, 1948-1949" (New York: NAM, 1949). (Mimeographed.); "National Association of Manufacturers — We Use Films in Our Program," *Film News* 10 (March 1950):6, 11; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, pp. 32, 46-48.

[47] George H. Fern, "NAM's History of Activities as They Relate to Education, 1897-1949" (New York: NAM, 1960, p. 4; "Introductory Number 1," *Trends in Education-Industry Cooperation*, no. 1 (September 1944), pp. 1-4; NAM, *Bibliography of Economic and Social Study Material*, 13th ed. (New York: NAM, 1946), p. 5; NAM, *Catalogue of Teaching Aids* (New York:NAM, 1949-50), p. 22; and Noel Sargent, *NAM's Fifth-Four Year Interest in Education* (New York: NAM, 1949), p. 9.

[48] Thomas Childs Cochran, *Business in American Life: A History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 51; David Donald, gen. ed., *The Making of America*, 6 vols. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), vol. 6: *The Urban Nation: 1920-1960* by George E. Mowry, p. 116; Harris, *Right to Manage*, pp. 23-25; Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, pp. 34, 40, 88; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 108, 134.

[49] Batchelor, *Profitable Public Relations*, p. 51; Harris, *Right to Manage*, pp. 23-25; Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, p. 88; and Zeigler and Peak, *Interest Groups*, pp. 117, 129.

[50] Rippa, "Organized Business," p. vii; Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, p. 88; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, p. 158; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, p. 74.

[51] Harris, *Right to Manage*, pp. 23-24; Rippa, "Organized Business," p. vii; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 3, 220-222.

[52] Heald, *Social Responsibilities of Business*, p. 204; and Tedlow, "National Association," pp. 37, 44.

[53] Fern, "NAM's History," p. 4; NAM, "NAM's Support to Education: 1897-1949" (New York: NAM, 1956). (Mimeographed.); U.S. Congress, Senate, *Violations*, pp. 161-165; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, pp. 72-73.

[54] NAM, *You Are a "Sentinel" for Private Enterprise* (New York: NAM, 1940); Henning W. Prentis, Jr., *The Mobilization for Understanding of Private Enterprise* (New York: NAM, 1940); and Sol Alexander Rippa, "The Textbook Controversy and the Free Enterprise Campaign," *History of Education Journal* 9 (Spring 1958):50.

[55] Chapline, "National Association," pp. 56-80; Leach, "Education and the National Association," pp. 187-222; and Stalker, "National Association of Manufacturers," pp. 254-264.

[56] Ralph West Robey, *Abstracts of Social Science Textbooks* (New York: NAM, 1941).

[57] Chapline, "National Association," pp. 78-83; Leach, "Education and the National Association," pp. 270-271; NAM, *Education and Industry: Manual for the Committee on Educational Cooperation of the National Association of Manufacturers* (New York: NAM, 1941), pp. 32-33; Sargent, "NAM's Fifty-Four Year," pp. 8-9; and Stalker, "National Association of Manufacturers," pp. 260-261.

[58] Leach, "Education and the National Association," p. 38; NAM, *Education and Industry*; "Resolutions," *N.A.M. News Letter*, Special Issue, 1941, pp. 18-20; and Rippa, "Organized Business," pp. 97-100.

[59] Rippa, "Organized Business," p. 173.

[60] Ibid.; and Karier, "Business Values," pp. 6-29.

[61] See the following NAM mimeographs published in 1949: "How to Conduct a Business-Industry-Education Day," "How to Tell Industry's Story," "Preparing the Plant," and "Business Industry-Education Day: Follow-up Activities."

[62] Leach, "Education and the National Association," p. 38; and Rippa, "Organized Business," pp. 97-99.

[63] Cochran, *Business in American Life*, p. 268; Harris, *Right to Manage*, pp. 8, 127; and Key, *Politics, Parties*, p. 78.

[64] Burch, "Nam as an Interest Group," pp. 102, 129-131; Cleveland, "Political Aspects," pp. 169-221; 418-419; Gable, "Political Analysis," p. 257; Truman, *Governmental Process*, p. 201; and Zeigler and Peak, *Interest Groups*, pp. 228-229.

[65] Burch, "NAM as an Interest Group," pp. 105-106, 130.

[66] Health, *Social Responsibilities of Business*, p. 24; and Rippa, "Organized Business," pp. viii, 189-190.

[67] Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image*, pp. 140-141; and Walker and Sklar, *Business Finds Its Voice*, pp. 1, 8.

THE ASSAULT ON THE SCHOOLHOUSE
LIBERAL RESPONSES TO THE EDUCATIONAL DEPRESSION

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David Tyack, Robert Lowe, and Elisabeth Hansot have rendered a service both to educators and to scholars with the publication of *Public Schools and Hard Times: The Great Depression and Recent Years*.[2] In this informative and gracefully-written book they not only provide a persuasive interpretation of the impact of the Great Depression on the schools, but make explicit comparisons and contrasts with the situation of education in later decades. These comparisons and contrasts help us to go beyond facile parallels between the educational situation during the "Hoover Depression" and the "Reagan Recession" of the early 1980's. They remind us, for example, that, while educators of the 1980's faced several shortages — "students, dollars, and public confidence and professional morale — the school people of the Great Depression faced only one: money."[3] And they also help us to see that the Great Depression was not the continuous unmitigated disaster for all schools that many had assumed, but that its impact varied widely over time, throughout the regions of the country, and by race, class, and gender.[4]

This new book provides excellent background for the reexamination of a particular aspect of the educational and political history of the 1930's: the responses of liberal intellectuals to educational developments. Lawrence Cremin, Patricia Graham, Sol Cohen and others have clarified the complex interaction between political and educational progressivism; this essay will modestly extend those studies by exploring how two leading liberal journals, the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, dealt with the educational depression.[5] Such a study may provide useful perspective both on the shifting course of American liberalism and on liberalism's relationship with changing patterns in the world of education.[6]

Amidst the chaotic history of liberal journalism during the 1930's, the *Nation* and the *New Republic* maintained the stable publication records and influence among liberal intellectuals which they had held since the *New Republic's* founding in 1914. While both journals moved politically leftward during the decade, and shared in the increasing class-consciousness of many liberals, they continued to wield influence among traditional progressives, educators, and others on the non-ideological left.[7]

As Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot note, concerning the "reconstructionist educators" of the period, "their inspiration was more often the *New*

Republic than the *New Masses*.[8] Several progressive educators wrote for the two journals, and far larger numbers were among their readers. We may assume that in some small ways the *Nation* and the *New Republic* shaped — or at least reflected — progressive responses to the Depression in general and to its educational impact in particular.

I

During the 1930's, the massive, inescapable fact of life for Americans of all political persuasions was the economic depression. The *Nation* and the *New Republic* inevitably devoted much attention to the effects of the depression on all areas of existence — on jobs, wages, housing, politics, literature, and, of course, on education. The editors, writers, and readers of the liberal journals had more than a passing concern for educational matters.[9] Many in the group were professors, teachers, and students, and some were active in educational associations and activities. Most of them saw schools and colleges as institutions of central importance in the development of a better society. Thus the liberal journalists gave considerable attention to the impact of economic contraction on many aspects of education — on public and private schools, on educational budgets, on colleges and universities, on educational opportunities for depressed groups such as blacks and Southern whites, on students, and particularly on teachers and professors.[10]

The stock market crash which initiated the Depression occurred in October, 1929, but since school budgets had already been established, educational spending for 1929-30 held up well in most parts of the country. In fact, total public school expenditures reached $2,316,000,000 — a figure which would not be exceeded again until 1940.[11] But in some areas where tax structures were weak and municipal finances shaky, the schools did begin to suffer. The *Nation* noted in February, 1930 the difficulties experienced in Chicago, where teachers and other public employees were going unpaid, and where the city could not afford to buy coal to heat the schools. A month later "The Drifter" reported that over half the schools in one Georgia county had been closed because funds for teachers' pay had been exhausted.[12]

School budgets declined only slightly during the next academic year, but in 1931-32 per pupil spending dropped by over five percent and the next year it fell by another ten percent.[13] In February, 1933 the *Nation* noted that in four states over half the rural schools had shut down, that sixty cities had closed their evening classes, and that 145 had abandoned kindergartens.[14] Former editor O.G. Villard (now a contributing editor) reported from Oregon that many rural schools in that state had closed for the year at Christmas.[15]

During the 1933-34 year, the schools hit bottom. While enrollments reached their peak for the decade, the number of teachers, average teacher salaries, total expenditures, and per pupil costs reached their lowest points.[16] A *Nation* editorial reported on this alarming situation, noting that while the Depression had forced the closing of only forty American schools by November, 1932, a year and a half later the figure had soared to over 40,000. Average per pupil expenditures had dropped from over ninety dollars in 1930 to about sixty-six dollars in 1934. Sales of textbooks had dropped by thirty percent. During the preceding school year Alabama had closed 85% of all its schools.

The ominous aspect of the whole trend was, to the *Nation's* editors, the fact that in some cities educational budgets were being cut much more drastically than government spending in general. In Chicago, for example, the school budget for 1933 was slashed by about 35%, while the average cut in municipal spending was only about 10%:

> Because the children could not answer back, because their parents perhaps did not realize the gravity of the situation, and because the school teachers were helpless in the face of direct threats to their jobs, local budgets have made cuts in the school funds out of all proportion to the general budgetary cuts.[17]

II

Again and again the *Nation* indignantly reported to its readers on the educational disaster sure to befall the country unless the budget-cutters were stopped. The *New Republic*, on the other hand, seemed more concerned about the damage being done in specific areas and to particular groups. In 1935, for example, that journal carried an article by Harold Ward on "The Poverty Belt" — the area of the Southern mountains now referred to as Appalachia. He reported that in 1930 the area had suffered from adult illiteracy rates of ten or twelve percent. Schools were having difficulty rectifying the situation, for in many areas fewer than a quarter of third-grade pupils reached high school. (The national average at the time was seventy percent.) And those tragic statistics could not have improved during "five years of acute depression."[18]

The same issue of the *New Republic* carried a review by Martha Gruening of Ella Enslow's book, *Schoolhouse in the Foothills*. Miss Enslow had taught for some time in the Tennessee backcountry and reported on her experience as "teacher, attorney, financier, nurse . . . and preacher to the community." Conditions in the Southern mountains were bad enough in "normal" times, but Miss Gruening was most disturbed that "five years of depression and two of drought, meant half-starved children coming to school or staying away because they hadn't clothes or shoes to come in."[19]

Another group whose educational opportunities were particularly hard-hit were the blacks. The *Nation*, true to the traditions of its founder, E.L. Godkin, took a particular interest in the problems of that group.[20]

The journal had long supported equal education as a major path to progress for blacks, and now its writers and editors lamented the special difficulties which the Depression made for black schools. In an analysis of the effects of the economic downturn on American teachers, Eunice Langdon described the problems of unemployment, of non-payment of salaries, of crowded classes, of inadequate materials, and of actual hunger and deprivation which assailed instructional staffs throughout the country. And she added that it was "a safe assumption that in those states and counties which normally spend from three to sixty times as much on their white as on their colored schools, the sufferings of the Negro school teachers and of the Negro school population have been proportionately heavier."[21]

Three years later former editor Oswald Villard gave the problem more searching attention in an article titled "Slumbering Fires in Harlem." The previous March there had been a serious riot in Harlem and Mayor LaGuardia had appointed a commission to investigate conditions in that part of New York City. Villard's article, essentially a summary and interpretation of the Commission's report, gave substantial attention to school conditions. The educational problems which he described had, of course, long histories, but all had been accentuated by the Depression. No elementary schools had been built in Harlem since 1924, during the period of greatest black in-migration. Since many Southern black schools had been closed during the Depression, some parents had "recklessly shipped their children to friends or relatives or even speaking acquaintances in the North in the hope that they would be taken in and educated." Such children added to overcrowded conditions in which schools were forced to conduct double and sometimes triple sessions. More than half the grade schools had between forty and fifty students in each class.

Villard cited the particular case of one boy whose teacher "discovered that he was half-fainting from hunger and had not had sufficient food for three days." Such cases dramatized a situation in which schools were not only affected directly by economic stringency, but also indirectly, as the families of their students suffered unemployment and hunger.[22]

III

It was evident to the liberal journalists that the Depression was hitting hardest at the educational opportunities of those groups, like blacks and Southern whites, at the lower end of the economic scale. But this fact did not diminish the editors' concern for the state of higher education. Both journals considered themselves as organs of the liberal intellectual group, whose chief base of operations was the university. And both assigned to college-trained intellectuals a role in reform far out of proportion to their numbers. Thus the *New Republic* wrote in 1933:

> Unemployment and destitution of the intellectual worker have a graver significance than the plight of a class. In this world, where factories, schools, hospitals and even political parties and labor unions cannot be operated without the knowledge of experts, we rarely visualize their real importance. They hold the keys for the functioning of our complicated world. They interpret past events and draw the lines for the future. Invention, education, propaganda, organization, come through them to the masses.[23]

In February, 1933, just at the end of Hoover's term in office, the *Nation* was vigorously resisting the efforts of state agencies to cut the budgets of colleges and universities. The editors were particularly indignant when a liberal institution like the University of North Carolina came under attack. Under the enlightened leadership of Frank Graham, this had become a university which "in the productivity of its scholars, in its public spirit, in its service to its State, is certainly unexcelled by any similar institution." Nonetheless, the budget bureau of North Carolina was proposing a 20 percent cut in appropriations, which would have meant a total decline of 56 percent from 1929 spending. The editors advised North Carolina authorities to follow the example of New York Governor Lehman, who had recently refused to knuckle under to business efforts to cripple the "great educational machine" of his state.[24]

This editorial set the pattern for much of the journals' comment on the depression and higher education: it coupled a defense of universities with praise for their champions and indictments of the businessmen and conservatives who threatened to cripple them financially.[25] But the liberal weeklies occasionally carried more dispassionate analyses of the problems of higher education. During 1933 and 1934 the *Nation* ran one of the longest series in its history — a succession of thirteen articles on the Depression and the professions. In the third article, William B. Thomas considered the impact of the Depression on the college instructor, and pointed out that by 1932 the depression had "caught up with the universities," particularly the tax-supported institutions. He provided figures on numerous institutions, noting that university general funds had declined between 1931-32 and 1933-34 anywhere from 6.9 percent to 53 percent in the two-year period.[26]

Later in that same school year, Oswald Villard took a trip through the western United States, visiting a number of colleges and universities along the way. In March, 1934, he wrote from Portland, Oregon on "The Plight of Higher Education." Using the University of Oregon as a typical example of this plight, he reported that the school's enrollment had dropped by a third, that some faculty salaries had been halved, and that the library (which Villard's father had endowed fifty years earlier) lacked funds even for important new books.

Villard was impressed, however, by the determination of students to continue their education in the face of severe deprivation, and spoke of one "whose work improved enormously when it was arranged that he could get one square meal a day." He declared that "somebody ought to call President Roosevelt's attention to the dire distress of so many of our schools of higher learning, which ought to be the most cherished institutions in our entire national life." And he concluded, in his best polemical style, with his usual coupling of pacifism and reformism:

> It is an infernal outrage in this national emergency to approve a bill for the expenditure of $500,000,000 for warships when the price of even two battleships expended upon our universities would bring hope and cheer, yes, decent sustenance, to students and teachers on a thousand campuses. Can there be any question which expenditure would really make for the true preparedness of this country for the tasks and dangers and infinitely difficult problems of the future?[27]

But the journals' concern for colleges and their students did not stop at the point at which the graduates received their degrees. In a depressed labor market, many graduates found that their hard-won degrees granted them only the dubious privilege of moving, as the *New Republic* put it, "from campus to breadline." An editorial by that title in 1933 called attention to the difficulty experienced by recent college graduates in finding employment. New engineers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals found little call for their services. Sixty-two percent of the engineers graduating in June, 1932, for example, had not found jobs by the following December. The editors saw clearly how this "professional depression" related to the general economic situation:

> Overproduction of trained minds among millions of illiterates, destitute physicians among hundreds of thousands who die without medical care, is neither more nor less a paradox than having too much bread, too many shoes, too much of everything when people go hungry and in rags.[28]

The *Nation* was similarly angered at the situation and agreed that it was "wasteful and degrading to train scholars and professionals for posts which they will not be able to find." But it took issue with James Conant's proposed solution: a cut in college enrollments. It could not agree that the time had come for "planned contraction" in the universities. Instead, the editors believed that:

> The fate of American university graduates must be integrated with a program of expansion throughout American society. Our "surplus" of graduates is a measure of the chaos in our economy rather than a sign that their services are not needed. Dr. Conant's recognition of the problem is courageous; his solution is as dangerous as it is evasive.[29]

The graduates themselves were not totally passive in this paradoxical situation. Some of the more radical among them sought joint action to deal with the problem. Under the leadership of Joseph Lash of the City College of New York, an Association of Unemployed College Alumni was formed. Like many of the other student and ex-student organizations of the period it attempted through publicity and protest to call attention to the difficulties of its members and to press for government action on their behalf. The liberal weeklies occasionally reminded their readers of this situation by printing correspondence from such groups. Six weeks before the editorial cited above, the *New Republic* had carried a letter from Lash's organization inviting interested persons to a Washington conference on the problem. The letter made the quite unwarranted assertion that "college graduates and the professional classes in general have been the group most severely affected in this depression," but then went on moderately enough to call on the federal government for "significant unemployment relief and . . . more permanent remedial measures."[30]

The Roosevelt administration did undertake some programs, such as the National Youth Administration, which benefited students, colleges, and professors. And as broader New Deal programs began to ease the whole economic situation somewhat by 1936, employment prospects for graduates began to improve. The *New Republic* then temporarily abandoned its doom-saying and reported that "a much larger proportion of young people going out from schools and colleges now are able to find employment."[31]

But this uncharacteristic optimism was short-lived, and it soon became clear that even the best efforts of the New Deal could not alleviate the situation entirely. The economy went into a recession in late 1937, and again the following June the *New Republic* was lamenting "the season when several hundred thousand college graduates are pushed off into the open ocean. The icy plunge was always frightening, but in recent years there has been an added trouble — the sea of employment hasn't nearly enough room for them." The continued existence of this problem was an indictment not only of the general political and economic system, but of the colleges and universities which should provide society with criticism and with innovative ideas. Thus the editors proposed a more extreme version of Conant's suggestion:

> It might be a good thing for the universities to get together and resolve that it is foolish to go on educating young men and women for whom the world has no use; that it would be better to shut up shop for a while and turn their staffs and endowments loose on the problem of why the world does not take fuller advantage of what they have to offer.[32]

IV

For the liberal journalists, deeply sensitive to the impact of the Depression on all areas of life, one of the most irritating aspects of the time was the blithe way in which many educational institutions succeeded in ignoring both the state of the economy and the embarrassing questions which were being raised about the viability of the whole American enterprise. The *New Republic*, concerned about the lack of opportunity for college graduates, asked whether the universities could "just shrug their black-gowned shoulders and say it is not their business."[33] It was disappointed that American education was "still based, in the main, on the rags and tatters of the education deemed appropriate for the English landed gentry of several centuries ago." This anachronistic education, further emasculated by right-wing attacks on academic freedom, produced appallingly few students "who understand the sickness of our society and are prepared to fight for a cure."[34]

Villard, too, was angry at the failure of educational institutions to grapple with the problems raised by the economic crisis. He recalled that during the World War it had not been "considered ridiculous then to rebuild the whole life of the universities and colleges around the business of teaching youth to go overseas and slaughter fellow human beings." He proposed that now, in similar fashion, but for better ends, "the entire life of the university should be built around the existing economic crisis; that the first function of such an institution should be to keep the students and the faculty currently aware of the momentous changes that are going on in our economic, social and political life."[35]

But Villard's was a voice from outside the educational world, as well as from an older generation. More impressive, because it came from one of the "victims of schooling," was the testimony of John Cheever. During his junior year at Thayer Academy in Massachusetts, Cheever was expelled because of his low grades. Then, at the age of seventeen, he wrote one of the most perceptive and sensitive articles on education which that journal had carried since the pre-World War I days of Randolph Bourne. He reproduced, in the words of the editors, "the atmosphere of an institution where education is served out dry in cakes, like pemmican." He described the fatuous headmaster, the conformist faculty, the dessicated curriculum. And he derided the social and economic prejudices which characterized the institution during the first year of the Depression:

> Our country is the best country in the world. We are swimming in prosperity and our President is the best president in the world. We have larger apples and better cotton and faster and more beautiful machines. This makes us the greatest country in the world. Unemployment is a myth. Dissatisfaction is a fable. In preparatory school America is beautiful. . . .[36]

V

These, then, were the terms in which the liberal journals reported and analyzed the effects of the Depression on America's schools and colleges. They sought to alert their readers to the full range of difficulties experienced by educational institutions of all types and in all parts of the country. They worried their readers about declining educational budgets, over-crowded schools, and shortened school terms. They decried the special impact of the Depression on higher education and on educational opportunities for blacks and Southern whites. And they noted the irony of a situation in which schools and colleges sought to ignore the financial disaster which was undermining their own work and effectiveness.

But such a summary should not overshadow the depth of feeling which the journalists had on this topic. Their emotions were indicated in a *Nation* editorial which asserted that "nothing could be more dangerous for the future of the country than the failure to maintain even our present inadequate educational standards."[37] This expressed a solid commitment to education and a concern for its preservation and improvement. But it was tepid in comparison to the rhetoric unloosed by the editors against those school boards and their conservative business allies who used the Depression as an excuse to cut educational budgets:

> Of all the disastrous consequences of the depression, this assault on the coming generation's chance to secure a modicum of education is the most damnable. These would-be tax slackers are public enemies who, while patrioteering at every opportunity, are themselves as unpatriotic a brood as exist in our society. They should be scourged from their positions of authority and influence by a wrathful public opinion, and education should not only be restored to its former place, but lifted to a new level of efficiency, dignity, and freedom.[38]

Notes

[1] "The Assault on the Schoolhouse" was the title of a *Nation* editorial in defense of the schools: 137 (8/16/33), p. 173.

[2] David Tyack, Robert Lowe, and Elisabeth Hansot, *Public Schools in Hard Times: The Great Depression and Recent Years* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[3] Ibid., p. 197; see also p. 5.

[4] Ibid., chapters 1 and 4.

[5] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Knopf, 1962); Patricia A. Graham, *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967); Sol Cohen, *Progressives and Urban School Reform* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1964).

[6] This essay is part of a larger study of the relationship between liberal journalism and education from 1914-1941.

[7] On the influence and changing positions of the *Nation* and the *New Republic* in the 1920's and 30's, see Richard Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), pages 13-14, 46-48, and 112-113.

[8] Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot, *Public Schools*, p. 25.

[9] Both journals continually ran advertising directed at students and teachers. See, for example, the advertisement which the *New Republic* ran in the *Nation* in 1937, headed "Teachers!": "Since 1914 the editors of the *New Republic* and its contributors — such men as Herbert Croly, Professor John Dewey, Professor Charles A. Beard — have been foremost among those who have put their shoulders against stiff academic walls and pushed them open." An important part of the audience of the weekly *New Republic* is composed of teachers and students. . . . A *Nation* advertisement titled "In the Classroom," described the journal as "a living textbook" and as "indispensable to the intelligent student eager to understand the life of his time." *Nation*, 137 (10/4/33), 392.

[10] Because of the journals' particular concern with the plight of teachers and professors, this topic is considered more extensively in another essay.

[11] The figures are from the United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 209. See also Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot, p. 20.

[12] Editorial, *Nation*, 130 (2/5/30), 140; "In the Driftway," *Nation*, 130 (3/5/30), 270. For a broader view of "The Uneven Impact of Retrenchment," see Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot, pp. 27-41.

[13] Wayne W. Parrish, "The Plight of Our School System," *The Literary Digest*, 116 (9/23/33), 32.

[14] Editorial, *Nation*, 136 (2/18/33), 60-61. For further background on the Depression and education, see I.L. Kandel, *American Education in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 51 ff.; Adolph E. Meyer, *An Educational History of the American People* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957), 318 ff; 346-50; 357-8; Harry Zeitlin, "Federal Relations in American Education, 1933-1943," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), ch. III.

[15] Villard, "The Plight of Higher Education," *Nation*, 138 (3/28/34), 349.

[16] Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics*, pp. 207-9.

[17] Editorial, "Our Public Schools," *Nation*, 138 (4/18/34), 431-2. Cf. Also editorial notes in v. 136 (2/1/33), 107; v. 141 (9/11/35), 283. Denny Hammond's *New Republic* article, "Education on the Skids," surveys the whole problem from the perspective of 1939, and includes a consideration of the effects of the 1937-38 recession; 99 (7/26/39), 326-7. Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot draw on several other studies in contrasting developments in Chicago and Detroit during the Depression. See pages 85-91 and notes, p. 238.

[18] Harold Ward, "The Poverty Belt," *New Republic*, 84 (10/2/35), 212-13. Ward would have needed state-by-state figures to prove his point concerning enrollments. Actually, on a nation-wide basis, the picture was ambiguous. Elementary enrollments fell somewhat until 1938, while high school enrollments increased from 4½ million in 1929 to 6 million in 1935. Cf. Dixon Wecter, *The Age of the Great Depression* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 180, 188. Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot provide a detailed analysis of enrollment trends from 1920-1950 (pages 144-150).

[19] Martha Gruening, review of *Schoolhouse in the Foothills*, (by Ella Enslow in collaboration with Alvin F. Harlow), *New Republic*, 84 (10/2/35), 223.

[20] For an analysis of Godkin's complex and changing positions regarding black suffrage and black education, see Alan P. Grimes, *The Political Liberalism of the New York, "Nation,"* 1865-1932 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), chapter I.

[21] Eunice Langdon, "The Teacher Faces the Depression," *Nation*, 137 (8/16/33), 182. For evidence of the journals' commitment to equal educational opportunity see "It Seems to Heywood Broun," *Nation*, 129 (7/17/29), 591; also editorial notes, 132 (4/22/31), 439; and 149 (12/9/39), 639. See the *New Republic*, 84 (10/2/35) for that journal's concern over the treatment of blacks in textbooks. See Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot, *Public Schools*, for a perceptive treatment of black education, both rural and urban, during the Depression. (Pages 30-32, 142-143, and 176-86.)

[22] Villard, "Slumbering Fires in Harlem," *Nation*, 142 (1/22/36), 99-100. Villard was a founder and early chairman of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See Michael Wreszin, *Oswald Garrison Villard*: Pacifist at War (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), pp. 30-31. See also "Louisiana's Black Utopia," by Carleton Beals and Abel Plenn, *Nation*, 141 (10/30/35), 503-5. The authors reported that school sessions had declined twenty days in white schools and one hundred days in black schools.

[23] Editorial, "From Campus to Breadline," *New Republic*, 75 (5/17/33), 7. The most thorough contemporary study of this problem was made by Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors, whose report was published as *Depression, Recovery, and Higher Education*, drafted by Malcolm M. Willey (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937). Richard Pells has written perceptively about the dilemmas of intellectuals during this period, particularly those associated with the *New Republic*. See, for example, "The Radical as Critic," in *Radical Visions and American Dreams*, pages 187-193. On the effects of the Depression on higher education generally, see William DeVane, *Higher Education in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), chapter IV.

[24] Editorial paragraph, *Nation*, 136 (2/1/33), 107. At least one educator, Robert Hutchins, while pointing out the negative effects of the Depression on the colleges, felt that it provided opportunities for reorganization as well. Cf. his article "Hard Times and the Higher Learning," *The Yale Review*, 22 (Summer, 1933), 714-30. He later restated this position in regard to the University of Chicago in his assertion that the "Great Depression conferred marked benefits upon the university, for it forced a reconsideration of the whole enterprise." "First Glimpses of a New World," *Saturday Review* (12/4/65), 34.

[25] Cf. also Villard, "The Plight of Higher Education," *Nation*, 138 (3/23/34), 349.

[26] William B. Thomas, "The College Instructor," *Nation*, 137 (8/23/33), 213-15. The series ran intermittently from 8/9/23 through 1/17/34.

[27] Villard, *Nation*, v. 138, p. 349. This relationship between pacifism and "educationism," so characteristic of the social philosophies of Villard and many other liberals, was not accidental. Both views rested on the assumption that men were rational enough to be taught, trained, and persuaded to act humanely and that coercion and violence were self-defeating and unnecessary. The place of pacifism in Villard's thought and activities is traced in D. Joy Humes, *Oswald Garrison Villard: Liberal of the 1920's* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1960), especially chapter VIII.

[28] Editorial, "From Campus to Breadline," *New Republic*, 75 (5/17/33), 6-7.

[29] Editorial paragraph, *Nation*, 146 (2/5/38), 143. For a much less restrained critique of Conant, see the Communist *New Masses*, 10 (2/6/34), 4. This editorial includes a sweeping indictment of the capitalist system "which has no jobs for its college graduates."

[30] "A Call to Unemployed College Graduates," (Letter from Joseph Lash and others), *New Republic*, 74 (4/5/33), 218. Cf. also "Scholars on Relief," (letter from O.R. Fuss, secretary of the Associated Office and Professional Emergency Employees), *New Republic*, 83 (8/21/35), 49. For Joseph Lash's later perspectives on some of these events, see "The Youth Movement," chapter 43 of *Eleanor and Franklin* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971).

[31] Editorial, "Graduates of 1936," *New Republic*, 87 (6/17/36), 164. The A.A.U.P. report, *Depression, Recovery, and Higher Education*, cited above, has a thorough survey of federal programs for higher education through 1936. Cf. pages 372-87.

[32] Editorial, "Baccalaureate," *New Republic*, 95 (6/22/38), 171.

[33] *New Republic*, v. 95, p. 171.

[34] "Graduates of 1936," *New Republic*, 87 (6/17/36), 164-5.

[15] Villard, "The Plight of Higher Education," *Nation*, 138 (3/28/34), 349. A commencement editorial four years later criticized the irrelevance and conservatism of colleges which, ignoring the needs of the world around them, still continued to turn out "'industrial chieftains, talented union-busters, tired businessmen, literary vassals, and the hosts of little, ambitious men who have sought so earnestly to mimic the big shots.'" "What Every Young Man Should Know," *Nation*, 146 (6/18/38), 688.

[16] Jon Cheever, "Expelled," *New Republic*, 64 (10/1/30), 171, 174. Cheever, who became a distinguished American novelist, later spelled his first name John. He never continued his formal education after his expulsion from Thayer. The *New Republic* republished this essay on the occasion of Cheever's death. (v. 187, #3, July 19 & 26, 1982, 32-36.)

[17] Editorial Paragraph, *Nation*, 141 (9/11/35), 283.

[18] Editorial, "The Assault on the Schoolhouse," *Nation*, 137 (8/16/33), 173.

PART II

Educational Developments In 19th Century American Education

75

THE MAGAZINE AS EDUCATOR: MARY MAPES DODGE AND *ST. NICHOLAS*

Lawrence B. Fuller
Bloomsburg University

In the United States after the Civil War a number of magazines for children flourished, including *Our Young Folks*, *The Riverside Magazine*, *Wide Awake*, *Youth's Companion*, *Harper's Young Folks*, and *St. Nicholas*.[1] Some were short-lived, but a number had long publishing histories with circulations in the tens and hundreds of thousands. Probably the most respected of these by its contemporaries and later scholars was *St. Nicholas*, established in New York City in 1873.[2] Its editor for more than thirty years was Mary Mapes Dodge, author of the enormously popular juvenile novel *Hans Brinker* or *The Silver Skates*.[3] Published first in conjunction with *Scribner's Monthly* and later with the *Century*, *St. Nicholas* enjoyed a continuity of editorship of half a century, under Dodge until 1905 and until 1928 under her long-time assistant William Fayal Clarke.[4] During its lifetime it published works of such writers as Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Louisa May Alcott, George Washington Cable, Frank Stockton, Howard Pyle, and a host of lesser known popular writers.

Unlike the editors of pre-Civil War publications who tended to be overtly didactic, Dodge meant *St. Nicholas* to entertain and inform. She developed her philosophy by trial and error as she wrote, besides *Hans Brinker*, miscellaneous short stories, poems, and essays for periodicals, and edited, first, her father James Mapes' *Working Farmer and United States Journal* and, later, *Hearth and Home*. Of particular importance for Dodge was the example of *Riverside* to which she contributed in the late 1860s and with whose editor Horace Scudder she conducted an extensive correspondence.[5]

Dodge formalized her thinking about periodicals for young people in "Children's Magazines" which *Scribner's* published in mid-1873. The article begins with a manifesto in which she shouted "BEWARE OF CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES" and "CHILD'S MAGAZINE WANTED." [her emphasis] After criticizing both European and American magazines, Dodge argued that too many were edited to please parents, not children. She said that the "child's magazine needs to be stronger, truer, bolder, more uncompromising than the other." [adult] She urged escapism: "Most children of the present civilization attend school. Their little heads are strained and taxed with the day's lessons. They do not want to be bothered nor amused nor taught nor petted. They just want to have their own way over their own magazine." She called for illustrations of high quality: "They should be heartily conceived and well executed; and they must be suggestive, attractive and epigrammatic."

She stressed pleasing the children: "Let the little magazine readers find what they look for and be able to pick up what they find." Finally, she called for subtle moral inculcation:

> . . . it must be by hints dropped incidentally here and there, by a few brisk, hearty statements of the difference between right and wrong; a sharp, clean thrust at falsehood, a sunny recognition of truth, a gracious application of politeness, an unwilling glimpse of the odious doings of the uncharitable and base. In a word, pleasant, breezy things may linger and turn themselves this way and that. Harsh, cruel facts — if they must come, and sometimes it is important that they should — must march forward boldly, say what they have to say, and go.[6]

In her notice to prospective authors, Dodge again emphasized her criteria and suggested that writers aim at the youthful audience:

> While aiming indirectly to instruct its young readers, and to inculcate a true Christian spirit, it will be entirely unsectarian in character, and will avoid anything like formal teaching or preaching. The spirit of mirthfulness shall be invoked from the first, and all good things fresh, true, and childlike, heartedly commended, while every way to juvenile priggishness shall be bolted and barred as far as the management can effect.[7]

The evidence suggests that she found the market she sought. The letters section of *St. Nicholas* for the next quarter century carried testimonials from young readers, their parents, and teachers scattered across the United States and the English-speaking world. When a would-be biographer corresponded with writers like Edmund Wilson, Faith Baldwin, and Babette Deutch whose juvenalia had appeared under the aegis of the *St. Nicholas* League, they indicated that the magazine had had a lifelong impact.[8] So much had *St. Nicholas* affected the historian Henry Steele Commager that he set his children to reading bound copies to select the *St. Nicholas Anthology* which appeared a decade after the demise of the magazine.[9]

These bound volumes suggest how *St. Nicholas* had more than ephemeral impact on subscribers. Libraries and schools as well as families frequently collected the magazine with the result that several generations might read it and be affected by its contents.[10] In addition, some of the materials first published in *St. Nicholas* like Kipling's *Jungle Book* and *Just-So Stories* are still available in various editions.

To analyze the educational medium that Dodge and her colleagues created, this researcher examined six complete volumes in five-year intervals from 1873-74 to 1898-99. Unlike literary scholars who tend to focus on particular authors or genres, or historians who may use a periodical selectively to support a particular thesis, this researcher wanted to determine the month-to-month messages the entire magazine ordinarily conveyed to readers. Of course, Dodge had stated what she intended to provide readers. However, any text combines both intentional and unintentional messages. It was this mix that this research sought to unravel.

What the content analysis of six volumes revealed is that *St. Nicholas* emphasized a large variety of themes either consciously or unconsciously. The remainder of this paper focuses on four that are particularly interesting in the light of subsequent history. They are 1.) the need for money to live a happy bourgeois life; 2.) the primacy of science and technology in modern Western civilization; 3.) the courage and wisdom of politicians who built the United States; and 4.) the cultural superiority of the Caucasian race, primarily of its northern European and North American branches, who had built this society. That *St. Nicholas* presented these themes in the guise of richly illustrated fiction, poetry and information suggests the likelihood that young readers assimilated the messages eagerly and unwittingly.[11]

The need for money in living a happy life was pervasive. In Volume I, for example, Lizzie W. Champney wrote of a destitute family of American expatriates in Europe whose daughter saves their situation by charming a member of Parliament who gives them £100 and finds the father, an artist, a job as a newspaper illustrator. (I, 607-609)[12] Two serialized novels — John T. Trowbridge's *Fast Friends* and Frank Stockton's *What Might Have Been Expected* — also stress money. In *Fast Friends* Trowbridge brings two young men to New York City to seek their fortunes. As they travel, pick pockets rob the pair in Albany and they must entertain passengers to pay their fare on a Hudson River steamer. In New York, they encounter a series of underworld characters in saloons, gambling dens, prisons, minstrel shows, publishing houses, and employment agencies; all seek to fleece the gullible. The boys eventually pawn their few valuables and one nearly dies for lack of medical attention. Only a series of fortuitous events and the boys' incorruptible characters prevent their ruin. In *What Might Have Been Expected* two Virginia children, a brother and sister, establish a telegraph operation as a way of raising funds to help a destitute black woman. Much of the novel focuses on the children's efforts to purchase equipment, obtain a right-of-way, and hire employees. To their dismay, their telegraph business proves unprofitable and when the black woman dies, they sell the telegraph system to a local mining company that had, it turns out, used them as an unwitting front to install the line at the lowest possible cost. In both novels lack of money is a constant source of anxiety.

Five years later the content continued to emphasize the central role of money in American society. I.L. Beman's description of Alec Ramsey, the inventor of the toy jumping jack, stresses this:

> To his eager desire, money was everything. Money meant enough to eat, a soft bed and an easy chair for his crooked, pain-full [sic] shoulders, a better house and easy circumstance for the family. Money meant comfort, education, good clothes, an honorable position and the means to do good to others. (VI, 268)

Two of the serialized novels, Stockton's *A Jolly Fellowship* and Susan Coolidge's *Eyebright* underscored the social role of money. Throughout the former the three protagonists, two boys and a girl, can do what they want because they have sufficient funds. In episode after episode Stockton shows poor people humiliating themselves before the well-to-do to get money. For example, on a diving expedition to a reef off Nassau, Bahamas, one boy insists on diving much to the annoyance of the black boat captain and his two divers. As employees, they are in no position to stop him. Later, when the trio has landed in Savannah after being rescued from a burning ship, they learn that no one has heard of the wreck or found survivors. One boy contacts his family for permission to hire a rescue tug, and receives it. This leads the other boy, who has been acting as a paid chaperone, to reflect, "Now I began to see the good of being rich." (VI, 653) In *Eyebright*, Coolidge underscored the importance of money by showing how helpless an individual might be without it. Her heroine witnesses the death of her mother and the bankruptcy and death of her father. She tries to adjust to the demands these disasters make in her life, but as a penniless orphan she faces being bound to a family well below her social class. Coolidge rescues her from her plight by having a well-to-do family with an eligible son befriend her. By surviving several ordeals, many of them caused by financial ruin, Eyebright may again return to the moneyed classes.

In subsequent volumes story after story showed money a central factor in the happy life. Tudor Jenks in "Teddy and the Wolf" wrote of a city family that moves to a small town for their health. The father opens a store to support his family, but patronage is poor and the father exhausts his savings. When his son overhears his father say he does not know how to keep the "wolf from the door," the boy takes the statement literally and sets a trap. A local banker sees it and, learning of the family's financial predicament, persuades local townspeople to patronize the store. The family's mental and physical health improves. (XVI, 586-588) In "W. Jenk's Express" Thomas A. Janvier wrote of a boy who tries to help his family which faces bankruptcy because the father has signed notes for a friend who has failed. Withdrawn from boarding school, William Jenks finds his parents planning to move to a smaller house in a poor section of town where his mother will teach piano and William attend public school. The son starts an express business to help and makes six dollars the first day. One of his customers is a Mr. Skimmington who is the one creditor who refuses to extend the loan for which the boy's father has signed. Skimmington relents, impressed by both the boy's efforts and the parents' plan to retrench. (XVI, 824-833)

In Volume XXI the printing of currency in "How Paper Money Is Made" was described. The fully illustrated article examined activities at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington. (XXI, 217-225) In addition, Howard Pyle's serialized novel *Jack Ballister's Fortunes* used money as a central factor. The hero Jack is kidnapped in England and sold as a bonded servant in Virginia by an uncle who covets the boy's £6000 inheritance. Once in the colony, Jack encounters Bluebeard the pirate and other fortune seekers. In typical historical romance style Jack recovers his inheritance and rescues the daughter of a good plantation owner from her kidnappers.

Carolyn Well's *The Story of Betty*, a serialized novel in Volume XXVI, also sets out to prove that money can make life pleasant, especially if one is a fourteen-year-old Irish orphan working as a maid in a boarding house. Through a series of implausible coincidences, the heroine Betty is identified as the heiress of a large Australian gold fortune. Life changes immediately for her as the very people who scorned her do complete turn-abouts. To add to the fantasy of power, under the terms of her grandfather's will, she can do what she pleases with her money without a guardian's approval. This leads to Betty's adopting a family of ne'er do wells, setting up house in a mansion, and visiting New York to purchase clothes and furnishings. When Betty discovers that her natural mother may be alive, her funds allow her to search for and find her mother who thought Betty dead. This melodramatic plot carries a message quite familiar by now to *St. Nicholas* readers. A character named Richard Van Court states it bluntly to Betty:

> "In this country we are all free and equal — that is, we are said to be, but in reality education and money often give their possessors a certain superiority over their less fortunate fellow-men. I don't say this is right, but I say it is true. Now, you have money, and soon, I hope you will have a good education. The rest of your claim to respect lies entirely within yourself." (XXVI, 478)

Thus, from such statements and plots readers of *St. Nicholas* learned that money was central to living happily in American society. Too much money could pose dangers to those who were not charitable, but too little inevitably caused suffering.

Non-fiction articles lauding modern science and technology proliferated in *St. Nicholas*. In addition, the magazine for many years sponsored a Bird Defender's League and publicized the Agassiz Association, the former working to protect endangered species from egg and specimen collectors, the latter teaching members about scientific method and experimentation. Reports about the club's activities appeared regularly in the departments section. Subjects covered by the magazine included biology, astronomy, physics, geography, geology, anthropology, and engineering.

The variety of scientific and technological articles in each volume is substantial. Volume I, for example, contained Frank Stockton's description of wild life on the Farallone Islands west of San Francisco (I, 20-21), M.S. Ruff's account of fish hawks on the New Jersey coast (I, 79-82), Clarence Cooks's retelling of Jenner's discovery of the small pox immunization process (I, 241-243), Elizabeth Lawrence's tour of the Regent's Park zoo in London (I, 583-588), and William Rideing's accounts of coast guard rescue missions and salvage operations (I, 336-340 and 481-487), firecracker manufacturing (I, 545-548), and light house construction and operation (I, 725-732).

In Volume VI Dodge revealed her positive attitude toward modern science and technology in an account of Edison's incandescent light. Dodge praised it for its beauty and cheapness and then endorsed the new sciences and technologies wholeheartedly:

> . . . you, and I, and everybody, have great cause for gratitude that we live in an age of such wonderful applications of known powers, and of such amazing new inventions. Before very long we probably shall cease to wonder at anything in the way of discovery, but at each advance will say to each other, as a matter of course: "Well, what next?" (VI, 311)

Many items in this volume whetted the reader's interest in science and technology. Charles Barnard wrote about the elevated railroads of New York and stressed how they were changing residential patterns and allowing children to grow up in less crowded neighborhoods. (VI, 800-808) Mary Treat told readers what they could see through a binocular microscope (VI, 116-117), while Harriet Prescott Spofford used a two-part story about a boy named Johnny to show readers how to build a telescope. (VI, 378-383 and 441-444) F.L. Oswald reviewed a trip he had taken to the Amazon basin and described the animals he had seen there. (VI, 823-831)

That *St. Nicholas* supported a Darwinian concept of time is apparent in D.S. Jordan's "A Story of a Stone." The author, a college professor, analyzed a fossil found in Michigan and estimated it was a million years old. Jordan indicated why the specimen, a Medusa-like jelly fish, died and how its species survived. He made no effort to reconcile the Darwinian interpretation with religious views. (VI, 233-235)

Subsequent volumes continued to stress the benefits of science and technology. In Volume XI, John Coryell contributed several articles dealing with whales, Arctic hares, and spiders. (XI, 29-31, 138-139, 603-604, and 847-848) Barnard described the design and construction of the Statue of Liberty (XI, 725-732), and Charles S. Bolton reviewed the history and current practice of paper making. (XI, 808-813) In Volume XVI, Frederick Starr reported a visit he had made to a modern ice-making plant in Florida where he saw fruits, flowers, and fish preserved in ice. (XVI, 296-297) Time lapse photography was the subject of H.H. Ballard's article "Some Applications of Amateur Photography" in which he stressed its value to biologists and astronomers. (XVI, 617-619) Even more striking in terms of sheer length and richness of illustrations was a series of modern military armaments. F. Harrison Smith contributed "The Queen's Navy" about Britain's fleet (XVI, 16-29), W.R. Hamilton, articles on the history of artillery (XVI, 436-444) and "Modern Harbor Defenses" (XVI, 863-867), and G.F. Muller, "The Making of a Great Steel Gun." (XVI, 913-919) In the same volume Charles Frederick Holder used a fictional framework of a field trip by college students and faculty to the Florida Keys to describe the local biology and geography. This material was serialized in four parts.

William T. Hornaday's ten-part series on animals in North America highlighted Volume XXI. Hornaday, a staff member of the Smithsonian Institution and the American Museum of Natural History, used *St. Nicholas* to attack the quality of scientific education in the United States:

> How strange it is that while nearly all our schools teach an unnecessary amount of higher mathematics and dead-and-gone history, it is a rare exception to find even a city high school in which the boys and girls are taught *systematically* [his emphasis] about the inhabitants of the earth! Even in some normal schools this is shamefully neglected. (XXI, 231)

Volume XXVI, while containing nothing of equal impact, had a typical mixture of pieces including H.L. Jerome's account of various techniques for starting fires (XXVI, 494-500), Emma J. Arnold's "The Story of Eleven Cities" which introduced Biblical archeology to readers (XXVI, 1006-1011), and Mary Proctor's and Mabel Loomis Todd's articles on the planet Mars. (XXVI, 658-662 and 663-666)

Thus, *St. Nicholas* readers could expect a wide range of material dealing with current science and technology. Few pieces questioned the desirability of such knowledge, although a few occasionally mentioned the environmental and social impact of some technologies. Generally, science and technology offered hope for the future.

St. Nicholas readers also encountered a wealth of articles and stories encouraging young people to take pride in American history, and often implying that the United States was at the forefront of Western and world civilization. The one significant omission was material dealing with the Civil War. Rare was the contribution that mentioned it.

In Volume I, Charles Barnard told of the heroism of two girls during the War of 1812. They perpetrated a hoax to make the British invaders think American troops were coming to oppose them. (I, 503-505) In Volume VI, Horace Scudder held Puritan children up for emulation and praised the character-building qualities of Seventeenth Century New England. (VI, 371-372) In the January issue of Volume XI E.S. Brooks recounted Evacuation Day when the British left New York in 1783. Brooks implied that his upper class rebel children had more in common with a young Tory than with the mob that was celebrating the British departure. (XI, 3-8). (*St. Nicholas* disapproved of mobs and their actions.) The same issue contained Edward W. Taffley's "The Origins of the Stars and Stripes" in which he showed how George Washington worked elements of his family crest into the flag.

The July issue of Volume XI, as so regularly occurred, contained much material based on the Revolution. Virginia Townsend's "Nabby Blackington" recounted how a girl delays the British march from Cambridge to Concord by leading a cow across the road. (XI, 712-714) W.W. Crannell described a boy's three-year enlistment in the Continental Army, a highlight of which was a gift of three dollars from Martha Washington. (XI, 697-700) In "How the Tories Broke Up 'Meeting,'" Emma W. Demeritt wrote of a woman who escaped from a Tory raid on a Connecticut meeting to raise the alarm. (XI, 667-670)

Highlighting the historic material for 1883-84 was E.S. Brooks' nine-part series on *Historic Boys*. The only American in his gallery of ancient and modern Europeans was Stephen Van Rensselaer, but Brooks considered him the greatest hero because he had surrendered his feudal holdings to become a citizen of the new republic:

> . . . no act in his long life-time of seventy-five years became him better than the spirit in which he accepted the great change that made the great lord patroon of half a million acres the plain, untitled citizen of a free republic. (XI, 721)

Volume XVI continued the emphasis on American history. Alice Maude Elwell's "Grandpapa's Coat" described life on a Maryland plantation whose elderly owner supported the Revolution with goods and money. To symbolize his support, he wore a tattered coat until the Revolutionary forces prevailed at Yorktown. (XVI, 642-652) Edmund Alton's *The Routine of the Republic*, serialized in six sections, explained the constitutional role of the presidency and executive branch. While essentially expository in nature, Alton's contribution criticized bureaucratic red tape and Washington social life.

Brander Matthews' three articles on Benjamin Franklin, James Fenimore Cooper, and Washington Irving were the major historical articles of Volume XXI. Matthews was critical in his approach and, while praising each's contributions, questioned certain attitudes each held — Franklin's lack of spirituality (XXI, 321), Cooper's sentimentalizing Indians (XXI, 877), and Irving's making the Dutch into bumbling butts of humor. (XXI, 632) Less objective was Molly Elliot

Seawell's *Decatur and Somers*, an account of the friendship and careers of two young Naval officers involved in efforts to free the *Philadelphia* and her crew from the Tripolitan pirates. Seawell aroused her readers' patriotism with such statements as she attributed to Somers:

> "Why should we pity him, Decatur?" he [Somers] asked, pointing to the body of James Decatur wrapped in the flag. "Can you imagine a better death than to die for one's country and for the good of humanity?" (XXI, 968)

The volume for 1898-1899 continued the stress on American historical materials, but a current event, the Spanish-American War, tended to dominate both the fiction and non-fiction. The combination of historical material and current events reinforced the readers' satisfaction with the role of the United States in world affairs.

More traditional material included Margaret Wilkinson's "Mistress Cinderella" which recounted a sixteen-year-old Virginia girl's excitement at attending a colonial governor's ball (XXVI, 286-293), and Ethel Parton's "'Belinda,' in the Fore-Room" which related how children prevent a British raiding party from seizing a family horse during the Revolutionary War. Two serialized historical novels, George A. Henty's *The Sole Survivors* and Amelia E. Barr's *Trinity Bells*, encouraged strong patriotic feelings. In Henty's work, set in Seventeenth Century Virginia, the young white hero Guy Neville escapes with his African slave Shanti from an Indian raid on the Neville plantation. After a series of adventures with pursuing Indians, the two reach the safety of a ship. Henty emphasizes the cruelty of the Indians and creates sympathy for the beseiged settlers who commit suicide rather than be captured. Barr's novel, set in late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century New York, focuses on the effects of a sea captain's family of the Barbary pirates's capturing him. Through contacts with the Federal government and a grandmother's money, the family ransoms the father who returns with a fleet sent to punish the pirates. So appalled is he by his experience that he frees his slaves immediately. Barr includes much righteous indignation directed at the lawlessness of the North Africans.

The conflict with Spain dominated Volume XXVI. Most pieces showed aspects of the military effort that would interest young readers — animal mascots, young soldiers, military apprentice programs. However, many items showed the grimmer realities of war. For example, Henry LaMotte's "With the Rough Riders" concentrated on inadequacies of equipment, transportation, and organization. (XXVI, 726-734, 832-840) Another article by LaMotte, "How We Helped Uncle Sam Prepare for War," related how American agents frantically sought to purchase armaments in Europe before the outbreak of war and subsequent neutrality declarations by Britain and Germany. None of the contributions dealing with the war questioned the American cause.

By 1898-1899 *St. Nicholas* was openly espousing the superiority of Anglo-American culture in ways that its earlier editions had implied but not stressed. A new department, "Current Events and Topics," had replaced the aging Dodge's more genial and humorous "Jack-in-the-Pulpit." Typical of these columns was that for March, 1899, which backed prolonged American control in the Philippine Islands:

> Probably the mass of the Philippine Islanders know little of what they are fighting for, and, under scheming and self-seeking leaders, they may bring great troubles upon themselves and also upon the United States.
>
> Many Americans believe that the Philippines should be free, but that is a question for the future. At present, order must be maintained by some authority. . . . The Filipinos, having had no experience in government, and being a semi-savage people, cannot expect the other nations of the earth to put confidence in their management. (XXVI, 436)

However, the superiority of white, Protestant American values had subtly permeated *St. Nicholas* in the years under Dodge. The more a group adopted the bourgeois, technological, and political values associated with Anglo-American civilization, the more favorably they tended to be treated. Three non-Caucasian groups — blacks, native Americans, and Japanese — illustrate the pattern.

Blacks, both American and African, were treated negatively, the Americans as inept, lazy, humorous, and pathetic creatures, the Africans as savages. In Volume I Stockton wrote of a black boy, Isham, who collects bird eggs, a practice that was anathema to *St. Nicholas* which was encouraging "Bird Defenders." When Isham tries to get an eagle's egg, the bird drives him off and he loses interest in egg collecting. Throughout the story Isham speaks in a thick dialect and lives in poverty, both of which Stockton found quaint. (I, 345-346) In Stockton's serialized novel *What Might Have Been Expected*, he continued his disparagement of blacks. The white hero and heroine become disillusioned with the black labor they hire in building a telegraph company to support an elderly black woman. One conversation among the white children shows their patronizing attitude:

> "You ought to look out, Harry and Kate," said Harvey Davis, "that all the darkies she knows don't come and settle down on her and live off her. She's a great old woman for having people around her, even now."
>
> "Well," said Kate, "she has a right to have company if she wants to, and can afford it."
>
> "Yes," said Tom Selden; "but having company's very different from having a lot of good-for-nothing darkies eating her out of house and home." (I, 522)

About the only sympathy expressed for blacks in Volume I is subtle and even then it dwells on quaintness of language and culture. Lizzie W. Champney's "How Persimmons Took Cab ob der Baby" recounts how a black boy faithfully saves a white child during a flood. Champney includes the lyrics of a spiritual which claims:

We be nearer to de Lord
Dan de white folks, — and dey knows it.
See de glory-gate unbarred, —
Walk in darkies, past de guard
Bet you dollar He won't close it.

Walk in, darkies, troo de gate
Hear de kullered angels holler;
Go 'way white folks, you're too late,
We's de winnin' kuller. Wait
Till de trumpet blow to foller." (I, 420-422)

Its militancy is remarkable for its rarity in the pages of *St. Nicholas*. More typical of sympathetic but condescending treatment is Olive Thorne's serialized novel *Nimpo's Troubles* which includes a black cook and her family. The white heroine, Nimpo, like so many of her descendents, seeks consolation from the cook when she becomes depressed during her parents' absence. Instead of staying at home with the cook, Nimpo and her brother board with a strict, humorless white woman. The episodes with the cook include much singing and dancing, but none of it threatens white superiority.

Louise Stockton's "Bob's Missionary Work" in Volume VI echoes attitudes seen in her husband's work in Volume I. Two white boys try to clean up the black "Flats" section of town by helping a black woman called Aunt Madison. Their efforts to sanitize her home and life style fail. (VI, 716-721) A reader's submission of a picture of a black man looking at a brick had the following caption:

This figure
Is a Nigure
Made sick
By a brick. (VI, 430)

A letter to the editor told of a black who thought being called "ignoble" the highest praise. (VI, 472) Sarah E. Chester in "The Baby's Morning" described a black servant girl who attends a white baby:

> She was a drowsy little colored girl who never succeeded in getting as much sleep as she wanted. They waked her too early in the morning. They kept her up too late at night. They would not let her take long naps in the day-time. Her eyelids were always heavy with the sleep she missed, and her mouth always yawning for it. (VI, 410)

Chester finds the girl irresponsible and never questions the girl's dawn-to-dusk workload. More sympathetic but patronizing were G.B. Bartlett's lines directed at white boys in his verse play "The Magician's Lesson."

> Laugh not at him, poor Pompey,
>   because he laughed at you,
> But try to pity and forgive, and learn this maxim true, —
> 'Tis only manners make the man, and whether black or white,
> You always can command respect, if you respect the right. (VI, 61)

Less condescending was a story by Louise Seymour Houghton. In it a white woman befriends a black boy named Ananias whom she meets at a Southern hotel. He refuses her offer to go north for schooling because he will not leave his pets. Instead she helps him obtain schooling locally. Houghton indicates that Ananias does not find his family's poverty picturesque. (VI, 500-503) In Volume VI Stockton's *A Jolly Fellowship* emphasized stereotypes of blacks. In St. Augustine, Florida, the two male heroes encounter dark-skinned people descended from Minorcans. The boys quickly learn that these people were never slaves:

> "Slavery!" sung out the old man. "We were never slaves! What do you mean by that? Do you take us for niggers?"
>
> He was pretty mad and I don't wonder, if that was the way he understood Rectus, for he was just as much a white man as either of us. (VI, 91)

Later the boys go to the Bahamas where they visit the black community. The boys decide to crown an elderly black woman who is reputedly an African queen. The boys see this as a joke but consult the royal governor and the leaders of the black community for approval, which they obtain. As part of the coronation, the boys have coins thrown into the attending crowd and enjoy the resultant scramble. At the end of the ceremonies the boys pay the queen for her trouble. Later the boys visit a black church where Stockton writes condescendingly:

> . . . our party went to a negro church to hear a preacher, who was quite celebrated as a colored orator. He preached a good sensible sermon, although he didn't meddle much with grammar. The people were poorly dressed, and some of the deacons were bare footed, but they were all very clean and neat, and they appeared to be just as religious as if they had all ridden in carriages to some Fifth Avenue church in New York. (VI, 575)

Material in Volume XVI was less positive about blacks. William Lidwell Sheppard in "A Ripe Scholar" related a white girl's unsuccessful efforts to teach an elderly black woman to read. Sheppard concludes:

> Aunty was not alone in doubting the advantages of learning. Many of her race who had been slaves and never learned to read, were nevertheless prospering, as far as mere necessities were concerned, and consequently considered education superfluous. (XVI, 623)

Two contributions by Joel Chandler Harris, "The Creature With No Claws" and *Daddy Jake, the Runaway*, tended to reinforce stereotypes. The former is a dialect story in which Uncle Remus tells of Brer Wolf's discovery that Brer Wildcat can retract his claws. (XVI, 887-888) The latter is a serialized novel set in the Civil War South. The main characters, two white Southern children, float down river to find the hiding place of the elderly runaway Daddy Jake. Not only do they find him, but they also discover several other runaways, each of whom has a story of cruelty to relate. Harris ends the story rather lamely by having Daddy Jake return to the plantation with the understanding the children will successfully intervene with their father to prevent further problems. Harris leaves the fates of the other runaways unresolved, their safety depending in part on the children keeping silent. Harris sympathizes with the blacks but depicts them exclusively as unlettered slaves.

Much more negative were two pieces about Henry M. Stanley whose whereabouts in Africa were unknown. In "The White Pasha" Noah Brooks reviewed Stanley's career as a reporter and explorer. Brooks stressed the dangers Arab slave traders and the indigenous tribes posed, all the time extolling Stanley as the embodiment of civilization.

> Probably no man has ever excelled Stanley in his wise treatment of the Africans. He seems to have a natural instinct of the best way to manage these people, who combine great childishness with natural ferocity. Stanley is firm, but kind, considerate, and generous. The natives know that he is strong, and they have faith in his honesty and truth. He has managed the savages with wonderful skills. (XVI, 256)

David Ker's "Stanley's Magic Book" treated the explorer respectfully and showed the Africans' gullibility. Ker told an anecdote in which Stanley tricked some natives who feared his books, especially his daily journal. To put them off, he traded it for the works of Shakespeare and burned the latter in their presence, thereby saving the more valuable journals. (XVI, 611-612) In neither article did the author show *St. Nicholas* readers how white Europeans and Americans had exploited African communities to obtain quick wealth.

Volume XXI, except for some serialized novels, tended to downplay blacks. However, the stereotype of the humorous, ignorant black appeared repeatedly. A poem "Happy Go Lucky" states:

Happy Go Lucky's
  as black as a crow —
Out at the elbows
  and out at the toe.
But he can tell
What a boy wants to know —
Where the speckled trout hide,
  and the blue-berries grow! (XXI, 866)

Another anonymous piece, "The Study of Arithmetic," showed a young black named Henry Clay reciting his addition tables to his Uncle Rastus. Henry cannot add beyond $2 + 2 = 4$. The uncle, nevertheless, is impressed and speculates, "dat chil' 'll soon be a-ddin' up in de zillions!'" (XXI, 965)

The serialized novels in 1893-1894 made up for the lack elsewhere of materials involving blacks. In *Jack Ballister's Fortunes* Howard Pyle wrote the following conversation between his hero and a slave named "Little Coffee." The latter rebels against Jack's calling him "black boy" and says, "I no like you call me black boy. Black boy's good as white boy, anyhow." Jack replies, "No he ain't neither." (XXI, 977) Pyle does nothing to change Jack's attitude.

Mark Twain does. *Tom Sawyer Abroad* appeared in this volume and continued the adventures of Tom, Huck Finn, and Jim, this time via a balloon trip across the Atlantic to Africa. Twain portrayed Jim as the butt of practical jokes and makes the relationship between Jim and Huck less intense than in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (It resembles less the river sections and more the Phelp's farm episodes.) However, Twain does have Huck say, "He [Jim] was always the gratefullest feller I ever see, for any little thing you done for him. He was only black outside; inside he was as white as you be." (XXI, 401) Nevertheless, this statement does not begin to offset the picture of the gullible Jim that Twain creates in this work.

Blacks played minor roles in 1898-1899. Clara Morris in "My Little 'Jim Crow'" mixed stereotypes with sympathy. She wrote that the six-year-old black boy has "all the marked characteristics of his strange race." She continued:

> Here was the love of music, dance, and color, the boastfulness, the intense devotion to special members of the white race, the easy, graceful romancing, the warm-hearted generosity, with the occasional gleams of treachery, all cropping out in this tiny black man of five years. (XXVI, 149)

But Morris did not end on this note. She recalled the boy's dejection when he began to realize the social barriers race created:

> One well-dressed little savage had struck Jim Crow aside with rough words and called him a name which, when applied in anger or contempt will cut to the very heart of any black man or woman in the world, and rankle there worse than any word of contempt or abuse in the English language — the name "Nigger." (XXVI, 153-154)

While sympathetic, Morris limited her feelings for the boy. Her husband fires "Jim Crow's" mother and sister as servants because of the latter's drunkenness and rudeness. "Jim Crow" does not want to leave and must be dragged away.

Henty's serialized novel *The Sole Survivors* is equally ambiguous about the place of blacks. Guy Neville escapes the Indian raid with the African slave Shanti and the two struggle to reach safety. In their efforts Shanti proves the more resourceful and this leads to an exchange in which Guy acknowledges his debt.

> The negro looked at Guy with beaming admiration. "Dat am splendid, massa. How you t'ink ob all dese t'ings is more dan me can say. Shanti neber t'ink ob such t'ings, neber t'ink ob smoking food, neber t'ink ob getting water in dat way. He just poor foolish fellow; good only to paddle boat and chop wood."
>
> "Nonsense, Shanti, you don't think of things because you leave it to me to do so. Why, what should I have done without you? I should have been killed that night when we left the plantation. You have done all the really hard work since we came here. You are twice as strong as I am; you can turn your hand to almost anything. And if I think of things a little quicker than you do, it is because I have been more accustomed to think. . . ." (XXVI, 412)

Despite Guy's avowal of life-long friendship, Shanti disappears from the story once a passing ship picks up the pair off the Outer Banks of North Carolina.

Nowhere in the volumes examined were blacks shown as educated, talented people. Furthermore, these volumes contained no material by black writers except for several letters sent by girls attending an African mission school. (VI, 772-774) Thus, readers of *St. Nicholas* saw blacks as essentially uneducated, lazy, pathetic people, worthy primarily of pity or charity.

About native Americans the range of attitudes expressed was more complex with a more positive tone emerging, especially towards those who adopted the ways of white Western civilization. Moreover, there were even instances in which the native American's original culture was discussed appreciatively, in one notable instance by a native American. The complexity appears from the beginning. A short article stated:

> The Piute Indians are rather poor creatures. They hang around the Pacific Railroad stations and beg for money, or clothes, or anything, except soap, that they think they can get. They are always dirty and have a sullen look. They live in wigwams covered with sailcloth, or bark, or calico, whichever happens to be most convenient. But these Indian children may grow up to be respectable and industrious citizens, for although many of the Indian tribes of the West are lazy and thriftless, and some hostile and treacherous, there are Indians upon whom white missionaries have exerted such a good influence that they are industrious and thrifty, cultivating the soil, supporting schools, and even publishing newspapers. (I, 27)

Similarly, C.A. Stephans described a Maine guide as "a very sensible, matter-of-fact young man; dressed like a Christian, and, saving a tendency to extreme brevity, spoke very fair English." (I, 205) Occasionally a negative approach dominated. In a story by Jane Grey Swisshelm a white father forces his wife to return an Indian foundling least they be inundated by its relatives. (I, 589–590)

Five years later, *St. Nicholas* contained little relating to native Americans. The major exception was Stockton's *A Jolly Fellowship* in which the author continued his negative treatment of non-whites. While in St. Augustine, the two male heros decide to free a group of warriors who have been imprisoned in Florida because of their rebelliousness. The two boys abandon their efforts, which involve scaling a fortress and opening gates, when the inmates blackmail the boys by threatening to expose their effort to the authorities. The blackmail takes the form of the boys' purchasing a huge quantity of souvenirs the inmates have made from sea shells.

The volume for 1883-84 contained more positive treatment. In describing a gathering of Santee Sioux in the Dakotas, W.P. Hooper emphasized that the tribe was still following their ancestral ways and could endure severe hardships. (XI, 689-695) Adeline D.T. Whitney in a two-part story "Girl Noblesse, A Repeat of History" told of a New England brother and sister of native American origins who were wealthier than the Yankees. However, when the girl attends a local seminary, she suffers from the white girls' prejudice. Offended at these slights, her brother successfully avenges her. Whitney sympathizes with the brother and sister. (XI, 388-395, 453-460)

Most indicative of the magazine's handling of native Americans was Lizzie W. Champrey's richly illustrated "Another Indian Invasion." In it she described the Carlisle Indian School. While not questioning the school's policy of cultural annihilation and assimilation, Champrey admitted the injustices of Federal policy. Nevertheless, she urged the development of the West because the preservation of Indian hunting grounds was not justifiable "while down-trodden millions starve in the garrets of Europe, and cry from its caverns that they, too, have been created heirs of the earth and claim its division." (XI, 945) Champrey thought "there is no longer any room for the *savage*, [her emphasis] but there is plenty of space for industrious, capable American citizens; and Eastern people have discovered a way to satisfy the demands of the West, — to annihilate the savage and leave the man." (XI, 945) Champrey portrayed the Carlisle students happily learning the white man's trades and wearing his clothing, but she acknowledged that many graduates did not want to return to their tribes because of conflicts. In a patronizing tone Champrey compared the native Americans to other non-Anglo-Americans: "If we can bear the negro, the ignorant immigrant, and the Chinese amongst us, there is no reason why the self-supporting Indians should be herded apart and maintained in pauperism at the public expense." (XI, 951) She concluded that education was cheaper than pacification.

Mayne Reid's serialized novel *Land of Fire* showed a similar ambiguity about native Americans. Set in Tierra del Fuego, it tells of a group of shipwrecked British travelers who are repeatedly threatened by the savage natives. Reid described them negatively:

> Of the human element, — if human it can be called, — all are savages of the lowest type and wildest aspect, their coarse, shaggy hair hanging like loose thatch over low foreheads, and partially shading their little, bleary, red eyes. Hideous are they to very deformity. Nor is their ugliness diminished, but rather heightened, by a variety of pigments, — ochre, charcoal, and chalk, — laid thick upon their faces and bodies with an admixture of seal oil blubber. (XI, 313-314)

Ironically, the fate of the British travelers eventually rests with several natives who previously had journeyed to Britain, learned English, and adopted Western clothing. These natives, thankful for the fact that several of the British had rescued them from an English mob years earlier, effect their escape. These natives have returned to their native dress and Reid was appalled by the transformation:

> In both the transformation is so complete, so retrograde, so contrary to all experience, that they can scarcely realize it. It is difficult to believe that any nature, however savage, after such pains [sic] has been taken to civilize it, could so return to itself. (XI, 531)

Volume XVI for 1888-1889 saw more positive material about native Americans. In two articles F.S. Dellenbaugh described the Pueblos of the American Southwest. Although he found their religious practice strange, he admired their agriculture, towns, government, and arts. He did not blame them for opposing the Spanish conquest, "for we should certainly resent any interference by foreign powers with our affairs, and the Pueblos were, in many respects, a civilized people and had governed themselves for centuries before the Spanish appeared in their territories." (XVI, 854-856, 935-937, quote in latter.) What the Pueblos thought about the United States' annexation, he did not say. Joaquin Miller in "Captain Duck" sympathized with a group of Indians who attack a stage station where the whites have abused them.

> Then the men at the stage station were very much afraid; for they had been very cruel, not only to the cripple but to all the Indians, and they knew that if they fell into their enemies' hands they had no right to expect any mercy at all. (XVI, 754-755)

Volume XXI is noteworthy because it contained materials told from the native American's point of view. Albert White Vorse's "On a Glacier in Greenland" used an Eskimo boy as the main character. Encouraged by a white naturalist to hunt a rare butterfly, the boy fails, but he saves the naturalist from a glacial stream and receives a metal tool in appreciation. (XXI, 491–496) C.F. Lummis provided three translations of Pueblo stories without editorial condescension. (XXI, 912-915, 1000-1003, 1082-1083) Most importantly, *St. Nicholas* carried in 1893-1894 Charles Alexander Eastman's *Recollections of the Wild Life* in serialized form. Separated from his family and raised in Canada, Eastman grew up in traditional tribal communities. Later he was reunited with his family who had become farmers and converted to Christianity. What makes Eastman's account of Indian culture compelling is that he shows how the traditional ways were most appropriate for the circumstances in which they lived. Contact with white civilization had brought no improvements for native Americans and had harmed them, Eastman argued. They had lost the old disciplines but not developed new ones. Any one reading this series in *St. Nicholas* would have had difficulty arguing that native Americans were less than human. They emerge as full human beings.

This positive treatment continued in Volume XXVI. W.C. Bennett's "Arkichita: A Tale of an Indian Detective" told of a native scout who successfully tracks down a white deserter. Bennett is fascinated by Arkichita's skill in finding clues and drawing deductions. The white army officers respect the scout, but the while enlisted men resent him. Bennett's sympathies lie with the officers. (XXVI, 893-903) In "The Walking Purchase" George Wheeler related how Thomas Penn had cheated the Indians in interpreting a treaty of 1686. A boundary was supposed to lie within the distance a man could walk in a day and one-half. In 1737 Penn trained three men to run and then drove them mercilessly to obtain more land. Wheeler thought the native Americans had reacted with justification when they attacked settlers in the land gained by the fraud. (XXVI, 1029-1032) Thus, by the turn of the century, *St. Nicholas* readers were inbibing a view of native Americans that was sympathetic to their accusations of white injustices and claims of human dignity.

Unlike blacks and native Americans, the Japanese were portrayed positively throughout the period. No other non-Caucasian group enjoyed such treatment. The Japanese, by their conscious decision to adopt at least the trappings of Western civilization, became paragons of virtue for *St. Nicholas* readers during Dodge's editorship.

As early as the first volume, the magazine carried a translation of a Japanese story "The Peach Boy" without comment. (I, 386-388) In an article in Volume VI, William Elliott Griffis described the culture of Japan from the point of view of a boy named Harukicki. Griffis was particularly impressed with Japanese politeness and diligence:

> Politeness, even among children, is the rule in Japan, and rare is the ill-tempered or disobedient child in the Mikado's empire. . . .

> Harukicki is industrious, too, and is learning rapidly even in a school that must seem a very curious one to our young people. You may be surprised to hear that he hopes to travel to America some day, and let his hair grow like that of American boys. (VI, 596)

The praise continued in subsequent volumes. In "Seeing the Real Mikado," Arthur L. Shumway reviewed the restoration of imperial power in 1868 and told of the Japanese decision to model their society on European practice. (XVI, 265-272) Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore described how the Japanese crown prince was being trained to understand the modern world even though some conservative nobles were displeased. (XVI, 670-672) H.P. McIntosh told of a Japanese man Fujinoko who constantly grumbles about his lot. However,

> . . . no matter how much he grumbled, he did not neglect his work; which cannot always be said of the grumblers of our own time. No; he earned money to supply the simple wants of his family, and after he had enough to treat them to a picnic on the water, or a visit to the theater. So you see there was really no reason for all his grumbling. (XXI, 706)

Eventually Fujinoko dreams he is in turn a wealthy merchant, a prince, the emperor, the sun, a cloud, and a rock. However, each is partly servant to a greater power. When he awakes, Fujinoko sees the futility of envying the seemingly more powerful and McIntosh endorses this attitude. In another piece Isabel Marbury related how Japanese islanders had rescued two parties of American sailors. In gratitude, the United States government built school houses on the islands. (XXI, 986-990) Five years later Anna Rogers' "Saijo's Picnic" told of a party given by the son of a Japanese nobleman and attended by four American children, the offspring of the American consul in Yokohama. In the narrative the children discuss differences between the two cultures. Ironically, the Japanese boy comes from a family opposing adoption of Western ways, but Rogers praises him for his bravery and self-discipline. (XXVI, 533-541) Thus, although the Japanese were Asians, the fact that their society was highly disciplined and consciously adopting Western ways made a positive image possible in *St. Nicholas*. When one considers that the contents about blacks, native Americans, and Japanese appeared in conjunction with numerous other items praising the economic systems, technology, and political institutions of white Americans and Europeans, the image of cultural superiority is one that young *St. Nicholas* readers could easily assume.

The four topics discussed here do not begin to exhaust the variety of messages *St. Nicholas* conveyed to its readers in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. However, the four do indicate how a magazine designed ostensibly to entertain and inform young people could by its content reinforce attitudes present in a dominant portion of American society. As an educational medium for several generations of middle and upper class young people, *St. Nicholas* was a powerful instrument for perpetuating the attitudes of its publisher, editor, writers, and subscribers.

Notes

[1] R. Gordon Kelly, *Mother Was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals 1865-1890*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974).

[2] See Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), III, 501; Fred Raymond Erisman, "There Was a Child Went Forth: A Study of *St. Nicholas Magazine* and Selected Children's Authors, 1890-1915, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1966), 68-136; Florence M. Sturges, "The *St. Nicholas* Bequest," The Horn Book, XXXVI (October, 1960), 371.

[3] Catharine Morris Wright, *Lady of the Silver Skates: The Life and Correspondence of Mary Mapes Dodge, 1830-1905*, (Jamestown, Rhode Island: Clingstone Press, 1979). This is the only biography of Dodge and contains much material otherwise unavailable. However, it has faults. It does not reflect a thorough search for manuscript materials, relying primarily on the Dodge collections at Princeton University. It omits mention, for example, of Dodge's correspondence with Horace Scudder housed at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Moreover, Wright fails to place Dodge in an historical context.

[4] William Fayal Clarke, "In Memory of Mary Mapes Dodge," *St. Nicholas*, XXXII (October 1905), 1059-1071; n.a., "Fifth Years of *St. Nicholas*, *St. Nicholas* LI (November, 1928), 16-23.

[5] For a discussion of Dodge's relationship with Scudder as well as her development of an editorial philosophy, see Lawrence B. Fuller, "Mary Mapes Dodge and *St. Nicholas*: The Magazine as Educator," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1983), 5-43. The best discussion of Scudder's work at *Riverside* is Ellen R. Ballou, "Horace Elisha Scudder and the *Riverside* Magazine," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XIV, 3 (Autumn, 1960), 426-452. Essentially the same material on Scudder is in Ballou's book, *The Building of the House: Houghton Mifflin's Formative Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 96-130.

[6] n.a. [Mary Mapes Dodge], "Children's Magazines," *Scribner's Monthly*, VI (July, 1873), 352-354.

[7] "To Authors," New York, 1873, contained in a letter from Mary Elizabeth Dodge to Horace E. Scudder, New York, May 15, 1873, (Huntington Library).

[8] Edmund Wilson to Spencer Mapes, New York, June 15, 1936; Faith Baldwin to Spencer Mapes, New York, June 12, 1936; Babette Deutsch to Spencer Mapes, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., June 22, 1936. All are in the Donald and Robert M. Dodge Collection and Mary Mapes Dodge, Princeton University).

[9] Henry Steele Commager, ed., *The St. Nicholas Anthology*, (New York: Random House, 1948), xix-xxi.

[10] Accounts of families that collected the magazine occur often in the magazine's letters section. Personal experience is also a factor as I read my grandmother's bound volumes from the 1880s as a boy in the 1940s. In the town of Bloomsburg, two sets exist, one at the local university, the other at the community library.

[11] See Fuller, *op. cit.*

[12] Hereafter all page references are to *St. Nicholas* citations. The Roman numeral refers to the volume, the Arabic number to the page(s) in the volume. Although the magazine was issued monthly, pagination was sequential. I have specifically cited all direct quotations. However, I have not included the page numbers for serialized novels and articles. I have given the page numbers for articles, stories, poems, etc. which I discuss that appeared only once. Each volume of *St. Nicholas* is preceded by an index. There is also an index for the years studied.

BOOK AND PLATFORM OVER ANVIL AND HOE: HORACE MANN BOND AND THE PLACE OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN THE BLACK COLLEGE CURRICULUM

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This paper deals with the topics of vocational education and liberal education, as illustrated in the thought and work of Horace Mann Bond, a black intellectual, professor, and college president who served at several black colleges during his fifty year career. It is part of a larger study of Bond which is still in its early stages.

Perhaps I should at once confess my bias on the issue of liberal and vocational education. On the basis of the historical and the contemporary record, or at least my reading of that record, I am no great supporter of vocational education. I consider it to be class education, foisted on to the lower classes and minority groups while the mainstream groups tend to appropriate the more academic curricula for themselves. Yet, I should also confess that I am not completely comfortable with this formulation of the issue for several reasons. I realize that much of what we call liberal education has been quite practical and vocational for the students who have sought and received it. Children of the middle and upper classes use liberal education to prepare themselves for the various high status occupations which they consider to be their own. Further, I realize that to talk of liberal education in these times may be to use a term that no longer has, if it ever had, any significance. I know of few institutions of higher education or college students who subscribe to genuinely liberal ideas about higher education, that is who value knowledge and study for some intrinsic reason rather than for what it may "earn." Finally, I would think that the dichotomy between liberal and vocational education has been overstated, both in the past and in the present. Instructive on this point is Arthur Wirth's recent volume on John Dewey and the vocational liberal studies controversy. Wirth shows clearly that Dewey would not be imprisoned by the dichotomy between liberal and vocational education. Instead, Dewey showed how all genuine education is both liberal and vocational, not either or.[1]

When it relates to an educator like Bond, who served his entire career in predominantly black colleges and universities, the discussion of vocational and liberal education is often framed in terms of the particular problem of industrial education. In its early stages, the debate over industrial education centered on the programs and policies of Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute. This paper will begin with an overview of the industrial education controversy and a discussion of Bond's view of Washington and Tuskegee. It then will consider Bond's own education as a background for a treatment of his ideas on vocational education. Next, it will treat the period leading up to and including Bond's presidency of the Fort Valley (Georgia) State College, the most seemingly vocational of the institutions in which Bond served during his academic career. It also will describe Bond's thoughts and actions as dean and president of two liberal arts colleges, Dillard University and Lincoln University, and the ways that they influenced his position of the issue of vocational education. Finally, it will attempt to place the discussion of Bond's position on the issue in the context of recent historical treatments of American higher education and its struggle with vocational and liberal studies.

II

Booker T. Washington, acknowledged as one of the most prominent, if not the single most prominent black educational leader of the past hundred years, proffered the educational program at his Tuskegee Institute as the model for other black colleges to follow. Tuskegee's industrial education combined the teaching of crafts and other industrial skills with the inculcation of the petite bourgeoise values thought to accompany those skills and an extremely careful approach to political issues in the field of race relations. In practice this meant a de-emphasis on more traditional approaches to higher education, such as the then classically oriented liberal arts, as well as an abandonment of any political activity in behalf of civil rights or other programs which might advance the cause of blacks. Washington's doctrine of practical skills, self-help, and the avoidance of political activism spoke to southern blacks who responded to an individual who was in tune with their personal lived experiences and to southern whites who saw in this black leader a non-threatening accepter of the status quo in both race relations and the economic opportunity structure of the region.[2]

From the beginning, however, some black educators fought against Washington's emphasis on industrial education. W.E.B. DuBois, John Hope, and others were quick to note the inadequacies in Washington's program, its neglect of the intellectual subjects that seemed appropriate for the development of a black leadership class, and to object also to the obsequiousness which this approach represented, both in education and in larger political and economic issues. Yet, Washington's effectiveness in becoming the leading spokesman and power broker in black educational and political circles was unmatched by his opponents. His stress on industrial education means that black educational institutions which sought financial help, either from southern political leaders or northern philanthropists, had no choice but to follow the Tuskegee line if they wanted to receive funds. "Collegiate" institutions such as Fisk University or Atlanta University had next to no success in prying money out of foundation officials and other northern businessmen, almost all of whom were captivated by the Tuskegee approach to education. In self defense, some collegiate institutions simply added industrial departments to their existing curricula, thereby appeasing philanthropic advocates of industrial education, and then let these departments fall into disuse until time for the next campaign for money.[3] Although in the early twentieth century there was some rapprochement between Washington and other industrial education promoters on the one hand and DuBois and other liberal education advocates on the other (for instance, Washington was persuaded to become a member of liberally oriented Fisk's board of trustees), it came too late to alter in any great way the commitment of the educational powers to industrial education for blacks and their colleges.

After completing his undergraduate education and embarking on an academic career in the early 1920s, Horace Mann Bond began a series of published commentaries on Booker T. Washington and industrial education which continued for the better part of the next twenty years. A consideration of these commentaries, along with some more private ideas gleaned from correspondence, gives us an idea of Bond's position on this issue as he moved from teaching position to teaching position and as he became an educational administrator in institutions which would confront the problem of industrial education as they chose their own curricular emphasis.

In 1925, Bond published an article, "Negro Leadership Since Washington," in the prestigious white scholarly journal, the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Two themes were first enunciated here which would characterize Bond's later evaluations of Washington and other American educational leaders. The first of these, Bond's contention that no leader can be judged apart from the followers he was able to enlist, explained the reason for Washington's early ascendancy over DuBois. Washington's victory was due to his ability to reach the black masses in the rural South who understood instinctively that the message of industrial education was both expedient and appropriate for people directly controlled by whites. When however, in the 1910s and early 1920s blacks began to migrate to the northern cities and enjoy some expansion of personal, political, and economic freedom, the ground was more fertile for the activist ideas of DuBois. Bond could thus conclude that in 1925 no follower of Washington occupied a position of black leadership while several of those who followed DuBois's ideals occupied positions of prominence.[4]

As he turned attention to Washington himself, Bond proclaimed another theme which he could mention several times in his later work. Bond claimed that Washington was great for two reasons: first because he was loved by the black masses for reasons discussed above, he spoke their language and he knew how to reach them; and second, because he possessed a powerful personality that moved those with whom it came in contact and made them "disciples" of the Tuskegee idea. While we moderns might prefer a term like charisma to explain Washington's powerful personality, Bond's use of the term "disciples" gets to the religious imagery which he used to describe the force of Washington's appeal. For Bond, Washington's "disciples" were "loyal, intelligent, and deeply imbued with a conviction of the fundamental sanity of Washington's program." They "went out from Tuskegee to spread the gospel of the school and its founder." Bond characterized Washington's appeal in religious imagery because he felt that the religious character of southern rural blacks was one of the reasons for their acceptance of the Tuskegee idea. Conversely, the more secular surroundings of black urban migrants to the North proved to be a fertile soil for the message of DuBois and a barren field for the ideas of Washington.[5]

In this article, Bond did not address the educational debate over industrial versus liberal education. The reasons for this neglect are not clear. Perhaps it was because the article was published in a non-educational periodical, or perhaps Bond's own ideas on the educational aspects of the topic of Negro leadership were not as well formed as his views on the political and social ramifications of the subject. Less than ten years later, however, after considerable experience as a faculty member, Bond made a comprehensive published statement on the dispute between the industrialists and the traditionalists.

In 1934, Bond published *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, a textbook intended for use in education courses in black colleges. In a chapter on Booker T. Washington, Bond evaluated the claims of industrial education advocates. He noted that Washington himself "took no regular course in vocational education at Hampton." Of the three objectives that Bond ascribed to Hampton and to Tuskegee, 1) the development and disciplining of attitudes and habits of industry and honesty, 2) the explicitly vocational objective of developing skills in specific crafts and occupations, and 3) the preparation of teachers for southern black schools, he concluded that while the first and the third of these were largely accomplished, the second objective of vocational training had outlived any usefulness that it might have had for blacks since the then current age of mass production had made an individualized, craftsman approach almost completely obsolete. Further, Bond criticized Tuskegee's craft training as being too individualistic, based on the desires of the white industrial promoters who backed Tuskegee. It set the black worker against collective solutions to his problems like trade unionism and did not develop in its graduates the necessary "habit of cooperation with fellow workers which might have stood them in good stead in the days of their tribulation."[6]

The objectives of moral training and teacher training were much more significant for Bond. In fact, Washington's devotion to moral training was one objective which bridged the gap between industrial institutions and traditional colleges. The moral philosophy and discipline that Washington had learned from General Armstrong at Hampton Armstrong himself had learned in the senior course in moral philosophy taught by president Mark Hopkins at Williams College. This course was now taught to seniors at Fisk, the epitome of the black liberal college, by President Cravath. No doubt the lessons learned there were similar to what Washington sought to teach at Tuskegee by a different means. Teacher training was also an objective common to both types of institutions, though the liberal college might have concentrated more on urban schools and secondary level subjects while the industrial school stressed the problems of rural settings and elementary subjects.[7]

Bond stated what particularly appealed to him in the Tuskegee plan in language which he probably learned in his graduate study in education at the University of Chicago. The driving idea behind Washington's program was close to the "activity program" which had been popular in educational circles for at least twenty years. Washington used industrial activities to establish a correlation between academic subjects and the practical life of the students. For example, he noted that "Students were given problems in arithmetic arising from farm accounting or from simple or complex construction projects."[8]

After thus giving Washington his due as an educator, Bond concluded as he had in his 1925 article by stressing the personal contribution the Tuskegee educator had made. Washington's major contribution was neither in the area of educational innovation nor in trade or craft training; rather, it was in that "the heritage of the personality of Booker T. Washington was left to the South."[9]

In his doctoral dissertation, written two years after publication of *The Education of the Negro* and published in 1939, Bond reiterated his earlier argument against industrial education but added some new points to it. Bond here noted a substantial difference between industrial and liberal institutions, not in the educational area, but in "their fundamental attitude toward racial equalitarianism." Washington's circumspection in addressing racial issues was compared unfavorably to the "humanitarians" of the liberal colleges who refused to compromise with the racism inherent in their environment.[10]

Bond also criticized Tuskegee for failing on its own terms. While Washington and his followers often claimed that the greatest benefits of the program at Tuskegee were felt in its own backyard, Macon County (Alabama), Bond refuted that contention. Following a 1931 study of black families in Macon County published by Charles Johnson, a Fisk University sociologist, Bond revealed that only three individuals were found in Macon County who were practicing trades learned at Tuskegee. Also, in contrast to Tuskegee's claim that it promoted stability among rural blacks by teaching them skills that would allow them to remain on the land, Tuskegee and other rural schools seem "particularly since the World War, to have conspired with other tendencies to hasten movement from the rural South to Northern cities." Still another indictment of the Tuskegee program was its failure to achieve a better pupil attendance record in Macon County than that in other rural black Alabama counties that did not possess an industrial school. Further Macon County's financial records showed that it spent no more money on education than comparable counties that lacked an industrial school. Bond concluded his argument on this issue as follows: "At the least it is possible to say that the claims made by Washington and by others for the influence of Tuskegee upon the schools, and through the schools, upon the life of the Negroes of Macon County, are hardly justified by facts pertinent to their present status."[11]

Having thus disposed of arguments that would claim some great educational or social significance for industrial education, Bond returned to his familiar theme of praise for Booker T. Washington the man. He concluded that while Washington's immense personal influence might not have been realized in measurable, educational consequences, it was realized in the area of "thought and feeling and opinion." Bond called Washington "a vivid, towering personality," a "legend," and added "who shall deny the importance of legends . . . in affecting the course of human history?"[12]

In more private settings Bond reiterated points made about Washington in published books and articles, but with less qualified language. Writing to one of the white trustees of his then employer, Dillard University, Bond told John Coss of Columbia University that "I am somewhat of a hero-worshipper, and . . . Booker T. Washington is to me an idol." However, he quickly added that Washington was not the kind of idol for him that he was for many whites who saw the Tuskegeean as "a sort of mythical figure who preached humility and manual labor for Negroes." For Bond, Washington's greatness was in his understanding of the realities of American culture and his translation of "that understanding into action, by means of a personality so rare and compelling that he could appeal with equal force, not only to Northern financiers and scholars, but also to the most illiterate Negroes in the lower South." Considering this latter group, Bond noted that Washington "spoke their language, and they agreed that he was a great man. You can now go into the most removed backwood and find an old man who once heard Booker T. Washington speak and who knew him for a great man." This was especially important since "these people cannot be fooled and they know the truth when they hear it — if I had not learned some time ago that instincts were no longer in good form, I should say that they have an instinct for that which is pure and genuine." Thus he told this latter day white benefactor of blacks that Washington's greatness was not in the fact that he was lionized by whites, but rather that he was idolized by the black masses who he claimed to and did represent.[13]

When speaking to an all black audience in the midst of the depression (1935), Bond was candid and unrelenting in his criticism of Washington's educational policies, particularly his reliance on industrial education. Bond described the theory of industrial education, as espoused by Washington, as "a house of twigs which, inspired by the big bad wolf of economic circumstance, has since been blown down." Tuskegee's industrial education was naive for it was based on the notion that whites would spend money for trade training for blacks to compete effectively with white workers. This did not and would not happen. Bond picked up on and expanded on his criticism in *The Education of the Negro* that the stress in industrial education on individualism was wrongheaded. It "gave no training in collective bargaining" and, in fact, "Booker T. Washington was a most effective strike breaker." Bond added the charge that the system of crafts taught at Tuskegee was "ante-deluvian." He concluded this passage in the speech by again reverting to his belief in the significance of Washington's personality, "I should much rather stake the future of the place of Booker T. Washington in history on his genius as a psychologist in the field of race relations than on the educational techniques which he sponsored."[14]

Bond made his most devastating indictment of industrial education in an article published in several black newspapers in 1932. Here he used plain words that would not be misunderstood by the papers' readers. He charged that among the existing industrial high schools and colleges and in trade departments in the black colleges "in almost all cases [they] bear the brand of the fakir" who advocates the training to get money from whites. Whatever the intent, the result is an occupational dead end for the black students. Trade or industrial training was anachronistic because machines were replacing skilled tradesmen and these machines could be run by less skilled operators. For a school to teach modern machine arts, "it would have to buy millions of dollars worth of equipment, and these machines change so rapidly that by the time they are installed they are probably out of date." The black school thus "simply cannot teach trades or fit for direct vocational employment today." Because of this situation, the "best education today for a vocation is that which gives a person the ability to adjust all around to new situations. The best vocational training to give boys and girls is a thorough command of the three r's."[15]

III

Having looked at Bond's writing and speaking on Booker T. Washington and the problems of vocational education, we can gain more understanding of his views through a consideration of his own educational career and the ways in which it influenced his understanding of this topic. After a brief account of Bond's own education, we will look closely at some of his earlier and later positions, particularly the presidencies of the Fort Valley State College and Lincoln University and his term as dean of Dillard University.

Bond's preparatory and undergraduate education was predominantly in academic settings, not in vocational schools. His secondary education was obtained at Talladega College High School and the Atlanta University High School. With both high schools attached to colleges, Bond received as good an academic experience in high school as most blacks and many whites. He did have his one direct experience with industrial education at Talladega, where he told one correspondent in the 1950's that, in addition to the academic subjects, he had taken work in "Blacksmithing" where one of his jobs "was to help temper plows." He added that "when I did not dunk the plow properly in its bath," my instructor would "lay me astride an anvil and apply his horny hand to my posterior!" This remark, though perhaps apocryphal, reemphasizes the earlier mentioned fact that Bond saw a disciplinary value in industrial training, not any occupational relevance.[16] Bond finished his secondary education with one year's study at the Lincoln Intitute (Kentucky), where he followed a combined "high school-normal" course, a path not uncommon in a period when school teachers often were trained at the precollegiate level. He received his diploma from Lincoln in 1919.[17]

Later in that same year, Bond enrolled at Lincoln University (Pennsylvania). He would graduate from Lincoln four years later with the A.B. degree. Lincoln had a rather traditional liberal arts curriculum which emphasized religion and the humanities and also featured some study in the natural sciences and the newly evolving social sciences. Trades or crafts were conspicuously absent at Lincoln. After graduation in 1923, Bond enrolled as a graduate student for the summer term at the Pennsylvania State College. There he took courses in education and in the fall he returned to Lincoln as a part time instructor and a student. After only one semester in this status Bond left Lincoln and soon enrolled as a graduate student in education at the University of Chicago. At this time graduate study in education was much less professionalized and specialized than it would subsequently become, and Bond was free to take a wide variety of courses in education as well as a large number of courses in the sociology field. He would remain a graduate student at Chicago, enrolling intermittently, for more than a decade. Interspersed with two full years and several summer quarters of study were a variety of academic positions. For two years, during which time he would receive his M.A. degree, Bond served as chairman of the department of education at Langston University (Oklahoma). He then seved one year as director of extension work at the Alabama State Normal School in Montgomery. From there he moved to Fisk University where he held a variety of positions, teaching and research, in education and the social sciences. In 1936, shortly after leaving Fisk to become dean at the newly formed Dillard University in New Orleans, Bond would receive his Ph.D. degree from Chicago in education with a dissertation on post-reconstruction education in Alabama. Dillard was to be a first rate academic institution for the training of black leaders, modeled in several respects on the University of Chicago. Its novel contribution, when compared to other black institutions, would be the stress on the social sciences which would permeate the curriculum and provide an intellectual means by which the black faculty and student body could come to terms with the problems and prospects of black people in the contemporary world. Bond's work in sociology at Chicago, under men like Robert Park and Robert Redfield, had taught him to combine a scholarly focus with a problems orientation. This would stand him in good stead as the chief academic officer at Dillard.[18]

Just prior to coming to Dillard, Bond had participated in a research project in rural Louisiana where, with his wife, he lived among rural Louisiana blacks and studied their social values and educational attitudes. Two years after coming to Dillard, Bond would go on leave to participate in a study of the problems of rural education, for whites and blacks, which would be headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee at the George Peabody College for Teachers. Bond would be one of two main investigators for the study, concentrating on black schools while his fellow researcher concentrated on white schools. The study was part of a philanthropic foundation initiated drive to improve rural schooling for whites and blacks in the South. Its ultimate goal was to be a revamped program of teacher training for white and black rural teachers. Bond and his co-investigator sought to achieve this objective first by visits to a number and variety of rural educational settings, from which they would obtain a composite picture of a good rural school. The composite would contain the specific characteristics chosen for their importance by the researchers in conjunction with the project director and project consultants. Schools and teachers would then be rated on their ability to measure up to the desirable characteristics and, finally, a conception of a good rural teacher would emerge which would be used to redesign the training of rural teachers.[19]

Bond undertook the work of the study enthusiastically, partly because of the ambitiousness of the project and partly because it allowed him to extricate himself from what had become an unpleasant situation at Dillard. With the return to Nashville, Bond again would be working out of Fisk where he felt comfortable pursuing this study and several other research projects. At the beginning of his work on the study he remarked that if it succeeded "it will result in setting up a permanent organization and machinery for the revision of the program of said educational institutions in the South."[20] In pursuit of that goal Bond made numerous trips to rural elementary and high schools and to teacher training institutions in the South during the 1937-38 academic year. He was looking for schools and teachers that could make connections between the problems of living of rural residents and the academic lessons of curricula. This search for such a connection seems clearly related to the progressive education movement of that period since the primary tenet of the study, the joining of the school to real life problems, was a major belief of many educational progressives.

The meat of the study would be in its analysis of and recommendations for the training of rural teachers. Thus Bond paid special attention to the several teacher training schools he visited in his travels. In one typical trip to rural Georgia, over a three week span Bond reported on visits to five elementary schools, a black high school, and two college level institutions. He paid particular attention to the techniques and problems of supervision in rural schools, a key area according to the then generally accepted notion of change coming from the top and diffusing to the rest of a group. He was quick to praise the work of both teachers and supervisors, though he was also quick to note that it proceeded along largely traditional lines. When seen from the perspective of the next half decade of Bond's career, an important part of this trip was his stop at the Fort Valley (Georgia) Normal and Industrial School. Fort Valley, which taught students at the two junior college grades, also maintained an elementary and a high school and was designated as the county training school for black teachers in its home (Peach) county. On one hand, Bond was impressed with the way in which the school "has integrated the work . . . with the surrounding community" as evidenced by the "affection for the school by the . . . rural Negroes which is unusual in any similar situation. . . ." Yet, on the other hand, Bond worried that with the growth and academic development of Fort Valley, "some degree of the close identification of the institution with the community was being lost, and that among the teachers was an increasing number of well trained (academically) persons who found it difficult to make the adjustment to the rural folk which the school had earlier established."[21]

One might consider this to be a half-hearted or lukewarm endorsement of Fort Valley, but, in comparison with most of the other teacher training schools that Bond visited, Fort Valley was exemplary. For example, on one trip to four teacher training schools, Bond severely criticized three of them. He noted that the work in classes was "formalized, and conducted with no genuine understanding of the nature of attack upon rural problems; and, as a matter of fact, little conception of community — social and economic problems — at all." In the one of the four schools that Bond singled out for praise, he handed out the accolades for its well organized academic work, its stipulation of course objectives, and its careful supervision of practice teaching. Even here, however, there was "no provision for such subjects as Sociology or Rural Sociology which might [have] . . . been helpful in widening the appreciation of the student-teachers for such problems."[22]

Bond evidently felt that unless teachers in training were exposed to curricula and experiences which connected their work to the lives of their rural charges, there was little chance of their exercising a meaningful influence on the lives of students. Unless the course of study in the rural school was "built around the local interest of the children," the school was doomed to remain the abstraction that it had most often been. In searching for curricular materials to use in helping to train rural teachers for what they would encounter, Bond wrote to one supervisor of rural schools in Georgia, asking her for a series of written accounts by boys or girls in the elementary grades about "something that might be of interest . . . to other children. . . . it might be descriptive of his community . . . [or] you might ask them to tell how pecans are gathered. . . ."[23] Bond continued this pursuit of the relevant in school curricula and his denigration of the academically abstract when he conducted a summer workshop for some principals of small rural schools in Tennessee in 1938. Reporting on the work of the seminar, he praised the attempt it made to study, meaningfully, the problems of the rural communities where the schools were located. Units on the migration patterns and occupational distribution of the citizens of these areas sensitized the principals of the situations in which they were working and gave them some realistic goals on which to base their academic programs.

Bond also exhibited his affinity for progressive education in his report on the activities of the seminar. In the introduction to the report on the workshop, he noted approvingly Robert Park's criticism of "rote learning" in schools, since it encouraged the "habit of mouthing words that mean nothing to us." He also made much of what he himself had learned in the workshop through treating his students as equals, learning together with them, and not talking down to them from a lecture platform. He concluded that, based on his experience in the workshop,

> I am determined never again to teach a class in a situation where I sit on a platform and yell down at my students. I am determined to get those students into a common circle, where every man is equal to every other man physically, and each member of this social group can look into every other's face as discussion goes around the ring. That is the enthusiasm for reformed method I developed.

One of the conclusions reached by the principals in the workshop was that the school must become occupationally relevant to the students and community. This, however, did not mean vocational training. What it means was that those who work in schools had to be conscious of the probable and possible occupational futures of their students and take whatever steps were necessary to see that occupational awareness became part of the school environment.[24]

In this consideration of Bond's own education and his early work experience, we can see that he exhibited the same suspicion of industrial and trade training that he showed in his published work in this period. Studying and working in the fields of education and sociology meant, however, that he did not simply defend liberal education as practiced at many high schools and colleges. Rather, he exhibited a progressive educational orientation that wanted modification of the traditional curriculum so that it was made to link up with the lives and futures of students. Bond's educational progressivism would be put to a practical test in the next five years of his career, the period from 1940 to 1945 when he became president of the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School.

IV

When Bond accepted the call to the Fort Valley presidency in the spring of 1939, he clearly was not unfamiliar with the institution. He had visited the campus in conjunction with his field work on the rural schools study and praised it at that time. Yet, clearly Fort Valley was not the kind of school with which he was familiar and comfortable, given his own training at Lincoln and Chicago and his teaching and administrative experience at Fisk and Dillard. Yet, his year as researcher on the rural school study had familiarized him with the problems of these schools and the issue of teacher training for these schools. This issue was the one which provoked the Georgia Board of Regents, the governing board for the state's higher education institutions, to bring Fort Valley into the state system and make Bond its president. No doubt, the entire arrangement was helped along by the commitment of the Rosenwald Fund to contribute substantially to the financing of the new venture at Fort Valley. Shortly after accepting the presidency, Bond managed to maneuver the Board into changing the name of the school to one which reflected more academic prestige. Not satisfied with the name of an Industrial and Normal College, Bond suggested, in fact simply appropriated the name Fort Valley State Teachers College. The Regents were evidently not upset by this change, since they expanded on it and approved the new name of Fort Valley State College.[25]

Whatever the school would be called, it was clear to all concerned that the top priority to be achieved under Bond's presidency was the upgrading of teacher training. The Chancellor of the Board of Regents communicated this priority to Bond in a letter of May 5, 1939 and Bond's reply indicated his agreement with this emphasis. It also indicated that he did not desire "the training of specialized teachers . . . in the trades and industries." Of course, Bond's opposition to trade training here was consistent with his educational beliefs as expressed and acted upon prior to his coming to Fort Valley.[26]

The need for improving the training of the states' black teachers was obvious to Bond. He noted that the 1941 complement of 6500 black teachers was 3500 short of the number needed to educate all the black children in Georgia and, further, that those 6500 averaged less than two years of college level training. Yet, teacher training was not to be the only objective of the college at Fort Valley. Bond also wanted his graduates "to be able to find employment in a variety of other occupational endeavors" and he stated his belief that the greatest way to achieve this broadened objective was not particular job training, but rather the education of "young people of character, balance, intelligence, and preparation. Fort Valley exists to discover such persons, and to help them develop these and other personal qualities." Speaking to students, Bond stressed teacher preparation as the college's major objective but he also noted that work in high school teaching and administration would be offered, the first of which meant a distinctly more academic endeavor than training elementary teachers for rural schools. Along with the teacher training, a non-teaching degree in home economics would be offered as well as expanded course work in English, the natural sciences, and the social sciences. Thus, at the same time he stressed teacher education as the major objective, Bond was suggesting enough other studies to allow the college a modest diversification of its curriculum and its students to pursue a wide range of non-teaching objectives. One might say that he was creating a liberal arts college within his teacher training school.[27]

Because of the largely female and predominantly rural enrollment at Fort Valley, Bond felt that study in home economics and agriculture were necessary. However, this put him in potential conflict for students and funds with the two other black colleges in the state, the college at Albany and Savannah State College, the black land-grant institution in Georgia. Bond sought to distinguish between Fort Valley's work in agriculture and Savannah State's work in this field by stressing that while the land-grant college would continue to offer all the degree work and certification work in the field of vocational agriculture, his college would "teach Agriculture practically — by letting some boys farm under supervision . . . and by teaching the fundamentals of gardening, poultry, etc. to all. If a boy wants a degree in Agriculture, we advise him to go to Savannah." In home economics, Bond tried to allow the other black schools to maintain a certain dominance in the field while retaining at Fort Valley a non-certification degree program in the field. He needed this program because of the desire of many of his female students for the degree and also because study in home economics made the college eligible for federal funds which had totalled one million dollars in an academic year.[28]

Much of significance in the Fort Valley academic program was not covered in discussions of subjects to be taught. Bond had an understanding with the Rosenwald Fund which, as already noted, had contributed significantly to the support of the college that it was to be an "experimental college." Utilizing his progressive educational ideas, from the beginning Bond sought to make Fort Valley different from other colleges in Georgia. He remarked to one prospective faculty member: "I envision the work as including a program of community study integrating with the institutional instructional plans." And he took serious steps to find out about the college from its constituents' point of view. In 1941, a little over a year after taking over as president, Bond developed a lengthy questionnaire which explained the college's goals and sought recipients' comments on the goals as a possible basis for their modification. In this questionnaire, the issues of vocational training and home economics education were raised as well as the matter of the best teacher training for rural schools. In addition to several specific questions, the questionnaire included two open-ended items in which respondents were urged to criticize, suggest, or "write anything about our program . . . that you think well of; or that you think we ought to make stronger, or give more stress to."[29]

A portion of the questionnaire stressed that the college would strive diligently to achieve the seven objectives for Georgia schools promulgated by state authorities in 1937: "Health, earning a living, citizenship, using what's around you, ability to make yourself understood by others, the spiritual life, educating others." Bond also referred to these objectives in a letter to Herman Talmadge, son of the then governor Eugene Talmadge who would shortly make an issue of race mixing in Georgia's public colleges. Bond told Talmadge that there were differences in the ways that the objectives should be applied to blacks and whites. For example, in discussing various subjects he told the younger Talmadge that the science courses in black colleges should stress "the common health problems of Georgia Negroes such as Malaria, Tuberculosis, Syphilis, and the like" while in home economics they should "try to teach the students to use cheap and native materials for dress, furnishings, food, and the like; how to care for babies, how to prepare and select healthful food, etc." Bond also referred to a difference between blacks and whites in applying the objective of earning a living: "inasmuch as Negroes are a very poor people, our concern here must take notice of this fact."[30] Thus we see how Bond's progressive approach to the college's situation could simultaneously serve the needs of educational experimentation and white racism.

Bond also practiced an educational experimentalism that one is hesitant to call legitimately progressive, though he himself had no such compunctions. Building on much of the efficiency and measurement movements that had pervaded the field of educational administration, he doggedly pursued the delineation and measuring of educational objectives at Fort Valley. He not only specified administrative and subject matter objectives, he also broke down the seven state objectives into 180 "activities objectives" which were to be achieved, for the most part, outside of the formal curriculum. Bond made student attainment of these extra academic objectives a graduation requirement, in addition to the normal academic requirements. He publicized this innovation vigorously, refusing to take no for an answer to an article describing the objectives which he submitted to *School and Society*. He told the editor, William C. Bagley, that this plan of extra-class objectives was "a definite contribution to American educational administration" that "in the not far distant future will be widely adopted" and that represents a "unique approach to a fundamental problem." Bagley relented under this assault and finally published a 200 word summary of the article in which Bond touted its "progressive" orientation. At almost the same time, he circulated a news release to the black press which touted the innovation and linked it with a then catch word of the progressive movement, "Life Adjustment."[31]

Bond also publicized and promoted his college's work in practical agriculture, where students did actual farming under college supervision, by giving it the catchy title "Education for Production" and publishing a book under that title which described and praised the agricultural activity as well as the other innovations at Fort Valley. He saw to it that copies of the book were provided for several state politicians as well as for the philanthropic benefactors of the college. He told one of the philanthropists that the publication of *Education for Production* had been "a decisive factor in winning the support of such people as the Governor, or certain key members of the Regents and of other important public officials. . . ." This support meant a significant increase in legislative funding for a new building program as well as a tripling of the regular state appropriation over its amount five years ago.[32] It is hard to tell whether or not Bond believed in these innovations as genuine improvements in the program at Fort Valley or whether he was a genius at packaging what he was doing in ways that appealed to diverse audiences and constituencies. What seems clear in retrospect is that neither the activities objectives nor the practical agriculture courses were the momentous improvements they were touted as being. They did illustrate, however, that Bond was not a devotee of a traditional approach to the liberal arts, just as he was not an advocate of industrial or trade education.

While at Fort Valley, he resisted both attempts to make it into a trade school or a "fancy pants liberal arts college." Instead, he tried to use progressive ideas and approaches to make the school speak to the life problems and life chances of its students. He used the teacher education focus of the college as a base from which to enlarge its curricula, including its academic curricula, to allow students to get many of the benefits of study in the natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences apart from any occupational focus on teaching. Yet he also stressed agriculture and home economics in an effort to help his students to survive and prosper. Dealing with the agriculture studies, one is tempted to see in Bond's Fort Valley a resemblance to Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee. However, this would be a misunderstanding of the total Bond approach. He never saw the Fort Valley agricultural experience as the single experience in education for all blacks; he did not even see it as a requisite for all at his own college. Also, the teacher training focus at Fort Valley meant that the agricultural studies were to train student teachers in certain living skills which they in turn would teach their students in rural schools. Bond's reference in later years to Fort Valley as "my little hick college in Georgia" reflected, not so much a disdain for the college or its students, as it did a realization that this college was not the center of the black educational universe.[33] It was, however, the place in that universe where Horace Mann Bond worked from 1939 to 1945 and he took his job here seriously. While his commitment to progressivism and innovation might have meant a kind of fetish for objectives and organizational tinkering as well as a certain facility for promotion, it also reflected a real attempt to make the college at Fort Valley responsive to the needs of its constituents and a better institution academically.

When Bond left Fort Valley to become president of Lincoln University in late 1945, he was going to an entirely different type of institution from Fort Valley, a liberal arts college. This was the institution he had attended as a student and the type of institution he had worked at during most of his career. His few year stint as dean at Dillard in the 1930s was a kind of dry run for the Lincoln presidency. If we consider some of his activities at both of these institutions, we will get still another perspective on Bond and the problems of vocational studies in higher education.

V

The first two years of Bond's deanship at Dillard were more like a presidency, since the institution's president was a white southerner who never took up residence on the campus. We have already alluded to the social science thrust at Dillard, based on Bond's study of sociology under Robert Park at the University of Chicago. Park communicated to Bond the belief that the social sciences could document the problems and issues which faced the American black community and, further, that they could begin to show the way toward an improvement of the conditions of blacks and other minorities. Bond and Dillard, however, borrowed even more than the social science emphasis from the University of Chicago. Dillard was structured into a junior division, containing the first two years of the curriculum, and a senior division, containing the last two years of the curriculum. This pattern was modeled on the junior and senior college plan of President Maynard Hutchins at Chicago. In spite of these innovations, Bond could still talk of Dillard's aims in language which followed the orientation of an old time, religious liberal arts college.

> Dillard University is an institution for young men and women whose abilities, training, and character lead them to desire a liberal education. The University is devoted to the ideals and principles of Christian conduct and service, and is committed to the perpetuation of the profound religious impulse which gave birth to its predecessors in the field of education for Negro youth.[34]

By the time Bond had become president of Lincoln, almost ten years after he had been dean at Dillard, his affinity for the Chicago junior college idea had disappeared. Yet, the significance of the social sciences and religion remained at Lincoln. Writing of the goals of Lincoln in 1949, Bond sounded like a typical liberal arts college president of the time. "Our objective — as in any college — is an educated man," stated Bond, and he proceeded to relate that objective to the liberal arts curriculum at Lincoln and other colleges. He concluded these remarks by remarking that Lincoln students could count on "a place where you receive a preparation for a life of human service, in all of its many-sided characteristics." Neither at Lincoln nor at Dillard, however, should Bond's liberal arts, human service orientation be taken as neglect of the practical aspirations of students. Here again, the language seems typical of a liberal arts college president. Bond stressed that at Lincoln, studies would be preparatory for several professions and occupations and that the school would be devoted to making contacts for its students "with business, — industry — as well as professional and graduate schools." He had expressed much the same sentiments at Dillard when he had noted that while Dillard did not have "specialized vocational and professional courses, it does accept responsibility for aiding the student in making a satisfactory vocational adjustment after leaving. . . ."[35]

Bond's suspicion of vocational studies permeated many of his actions as president of Lincoln. In discussing his own term as president, he remarked that when he became chief officer in 1945, Lincoln was in danger of going off on the wrong track, "in the direction of vocationally-minded, money grubbing 'professionals' who were in fact far from the true ideal of the liberal arts college." He claimed to have reversed that trend and added that "more men with an inclination toward pure scholarship, have been graduated from Lincoln University in the period from 1945 to 1957 [the years of Bond's presidency], than . . . at any time in the institution's history. Bond also exhibited his antipathy to vocationalism in a speech he gave at Dillard in 1956, a year before he left Lincoln. Discussing Dr. James Hardy Dillard, the white classicist for whom the university had been named, Bond noted that in Dr. Dillard's own education "there was never any direct appeal to the useful side of learning and knowing. . . . The utilitarian spirit did not exist. Nothing was ever said about getting on in the world. . . ." Bond concluded the address with the words that epitomize traditional liberal arts advocates; he noted that Dr. Dillard was "a gentleman."[36]

During the last several years of his term as president of Lincoln, Bond was hard at work on a history of his alma mater. Here again he would mount a spirited defense of liberal arts education and reiterate his criticisms of industrial education as promulgated by Booker T. Washington and his followers. Bond here used particular Lincoln events and anecdotes to illustrate and elaborate on general criticisms of industrial education he had made in the 1930s. In a chapter entitled "Book and Platform Versus Anvil and Hoe," he described the continual stress on the liberal arts at Lincoln, even as Washington and industrial education ascended to prominence with white benefactors of black higher education and threatened the existence of colleges like Lincoln. Only for a brief period, around 1910, did Lincoln flirt with industrial education. In that year, Washington was invited to give the commencement address and the bulletin of the college announced that a program in Agriculture would be started. Evidently, neither the esteemed speaker nor the planned vocational program stirred the students, faculty, or alumni of Lincoln since both the announcement and the agricultural studies were withdrawn by the following year.[37]

Bond's penchant for progressive ideas and innovations, which was so evident in his Fort Valley years, receded quickly during his term at Lincoln. His major curricular innovation, a stress on African Studies, went hand in hand with an attempt to increase the number of African students at Lincoln and Bond's own Africanization as he made repeated visits to that continent in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Otherwise, as already noted, Lincoln seemed like a fairly typical liberal arts college of its day. One constant in both the progressive Fort Valley and the traditional Lincoln years, however, was the suspicion of the vocationalist currents which still affected black educational circles. This opposition to industrial education in its various guises marks Bond firmly on the side of those who, in his own words, favored "Book and Platform" over "Anvil and Hoe."[38]

VI

Two conclusions appear to emerge from this discussion of liberal and vocational studies in the educational career of Horace Mann Bond. The first of these is more obvious than the second. It is that Bond appears to have been a rather consistent defender of liberal education and opponent of vocational education throughout the parts of his career that we have examined. Yet, we should be aware that Bond's allegiance to liberal studies was not that of the inflexible academic ideolog. Rather, his commitment to the liberal studies was to a modern version of those studies, one which stressed the social sciences as the twentieth century means by which the goals of a liberal education might be reached. And the goals of the liberal education which Bond pursued contained the twentieth century objective of contributing to an understanding and amelioration of the condition of the black population of the larger society which it also sought to understand and improve.

In some contrast to the modern or contemporary nature of Bond's commitment to liberal studies, we must also not forget the old-fashioned emphasis on religion that also permeated Bond's educational beliefs. In this period of immense secularization in both American higher education and American life, scholars may be unprepared for the importance of religion to the academic careers of men like Horance Mann Bond. If we are to understand Bond and others like him, however, we must try and uncover the meaningful aspects of their religious beliefs and how those beliefs related to their academic commitments.

With its combination of modern social science emphasis and old

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fashioned religion, Bond's version of liberal education served him in good stead through a varied career. We have seen him adapt his views to the situation in which he served, but apparently, witnout abandoning his fundamental commitments. Also, Bond's commitment to the liberal studies did not preclude a preparatory aspect of those studies. For Bond, preparation was accomplished with the honing of intellectual skills, not job skills. His contention in the 1930s that a changing occupational structure made occupational preparation an illusory goal for education seems even stronger in our own period.

The less obvious conclusion to be drawn from this study of Bond is based on the period when he was most innovative educationally, his presidency at Fort Valley. Here we saw a practical emphasis in the curriculum and a progressive bent on Bond's part that served as a basis for those practical studies and some dubious exercises in administrative objective writing. This in turn was related to Bond's study of education and sociology at the University of Chicago. There is an intellectual and an institutional issue to be highlighted here. Intellectually, Bond's version of progressive education seems pedestrian, at least when compared to the ideas of the giants of the progressive movement such as Dewey or George Counts. His diligent application of life skills at Fort Valley and his equally diligent pursuit of life adjustment objectives outside of the classroom seems earnest but uninspired. They made a large splash politically in the state of Georgia where they helped Bond to achieve a considerable reputation. Neither of these innovations, however, outlasted Bond's presidency at Fort Valley. Nor were they successfully transplanted by Bond himself in the curriculum at Lincoln, Bond's next presidency.

The institutional significance of Bond's Fort Valley innovations lies in the fact that Fort Valley was a teacher training college. Institutions which prepared teachers are among the most understudied of all forms of American education. This lack, no doubt related to their relatively low academic status, has left some large gaps in our understanding of American higher education. One example of this lack occurs in Colin Burke's *American Collegiate Populations* where the author vigorously pursues a revisionist picture of the nineteenth century college as a vigorous competitor to the newly emerging university at the same time that he notes that both of these types of institutions had to compete for students with the normal schools of the late nineteenth century. Burke has nothing to say in his treatise about these teacher training schools and what factors caused them to challenge so successfully the other types of schools. Jurgen Herbst had made much of the neglect of normal schools by educational historians and has urged that it be remedied so that we may truly understand these people's colleges and the role they played in offering educational opportunity to many who otherwise would have had no chance for higher education. Using Wisconsin's normal schools as his example, Herbst shows how these institutions, from their inception, offered much more than teacher training to their students and functioned to expand educational opportunities throughout the state.[39]

Bond's Fort Valley experience showed his ability to combine the practical in curriculum reform with an expansion of curricular subjects to areas at best marginally related to teacher training, though without abandoning his commitment to teacher training. Bond illustrates what Herbst found in Wisconsin; teacher training schools were academic institutions which trained teachers as one of their functions. Their other functions often put them alongside liberal arts colleges in providing academic preparatory options to their students. From this perspective, it is not hard to see how or why Bond would go from a liberal arts college to a teacher training school, and then back to another liberal arts college. The institutions were not nearly as different as those of us, conditioned by the bureaucratic walls of late twentieth century higher education, think they were.

Further insight into Bond's approach to teacher training can be gained from a consideration of his last academic position as dean and director of the bureau of research in the school of education at Atlanta University. This would provide another chance for us to view a man with fundamentally liberal educational commitments in operation in a setting of teacher training. Unfortunately, this is a topic for a future paper and beyond the scope of this one.

Notes

[1] Arthur G. Wirth, *Education in the Technological Society: The Vocational-Liberal Studies Controversy in the Early Twentieth Century* (Scranton: Intext, 1972).

[2] Booker T. Washington has received exhaustive, critical treatment in the two volume biography by Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader* (New York: Oxford, 19xx) and *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee* (New York: Oxford, 19xx).

[3] On Booker T. Washington and the opposition to industrial education see August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: Michigan, 1963), part three. On the situation at Fisk, see Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946* (Tuscaloosa: Alabama, 1980), chapter five.

[4] Horace M. Bond, "Negro Leadership Since Washington," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 22, (April, 1925), pp. 115-30.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 126-27.

[6] Horace M. Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1934), pp. 116-25; quotation on p. 125.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 362, 120.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[10] Horace M. Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (New York: Atheneum, 1963; originally published by Associated Publishers in 1939), p. 217.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 223.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[13] Horace M. Bond to J.J. Coss (February 15, 1937), Series II, Box 8, Folder 7B, Horace Mann Bond Papers, Archives, University of Massachusetts Library; hereafter cited as Bond Papers with Roman Numeral for Series number, arabic number for Box number, and arabic number (usually with capital letter) for Folder number.

[14] Horace M. Bond, "Education and the Economic Situation," (circa, 1935), Bond Papers, VI, 170, 1.

[15] Horace M. Bond, "Around the World with our Schools: Vocational Training — Fact or Fake," (circa, 1932), Bond Papers, VI, 178, 51.

[16] Bond to Andrew McCracken (June 21, 1950), Bond Papers, II, 11, 24B.

[17] Bond to I.J.K. Wells (May 15, 1936), Bond Papers, II, 8, 5C.

[18] *Ibid.* We will say more about Dillard University in section IV of this paper.

[19] Edwin Embree to Bond (June 24, 1937), Bond Papers, III, 72, 313B.

[20] Bond to Walter Wright (August 2, 1937), Bond Papers, II, 9, 8B.

[21] Bond to Doak Campbell (November 22, 1937), Bond Papers, III, 72, 313B.

[22] Bond to Doak Campbell (May 31, 1938), Bond Papers, III, 72, 313D.

[23] Bond to Adran Auguster (September 29, 1937) and Bond to Annie Steagall (December 14, 1937), Bond Papers, II, 9, 8C.

[24] [Horace M. Bond], "Work, Watch, Wait, Work: Facts, Ideas, and Suggestions Developed in Conference, Concerning the Education of Negro Children in Small High Schools," (1938), Bond Papers, IV, 87, 4A.

[25] Bond did not accept the presidency at once. He first took the title of Acting President when the Georgia Board of Regents reduced the amount of money it had committed to the support of Fort Valley. On Fort Valley prior to Bond's presidency, see James D. Anderson, "Philanthropy in the Shaping of Black Industrial Education Schools: The Fort Valley Case, 1902-1938," *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science* pp. 184-209. On the naming of the college as well as on its early financial difficulties with the state, see Bond to

Edwin Embree (August 3, 1939), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 32D and L.R. Seibert to Bond (September 2, 1939), Bond Papers, IV, 93, 33A.

[26] S.Y. Sanford to Bond (May 5, 1939), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 32A and Bond to Sanford (June 27, 1939), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 32B.

[27] Horace M. Bond, "The Objectives, Scope, and Activities of the Fort Valley State College," (circa, 1941) and Bond, Notes for a speech to the Fort Valley student body (circa, 1940), Bond Papers, IV, 95, 37A.

[28] Bond to A.J. Evans (August 23, 1941), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 34A.

[29] "Questionnaire: What Ought the Fort Valley State College for Negroes Try to Do in the Next Five or Ten Years?" (1941), Bond Papers, IV, 96, 43C.

[30] Ibid., and Bond to Herman Talmadge (April 16, 1941) as reproduced in Bond to A.J. Evans (August 22, 1941), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 34A.

[31] Bond to William Bagley (December 26, 1944), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 35D; Horace Mann Bond, "A New Device for Evaluating the Work of College Students," *School and Society* 61, (February 10, 1945), p. 94; and "Fort Valley to Grade Students on Objectives: Evaluation of Kife Adjustment to Supplement Usual Grading," (circa 1944), Bond Papers, IV, 95, 37C. On the evils of the educational efficiency movement, see Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago; University of Chicago, 1962).

[32] Horace M. Bond, *Education for Production: A Textbook on How to be Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise* (Athens: University of Georgia Press for the Fort Valley State College, 1944); Bond to Ellis Arnall (April 21, 1944), Bond Papers, II, 10, 17B; and Bond to A.W. Mann (July 8, 1945), Bond Papers, IV, 95, 36A.

[33] Bond to Rufus Clements (June 4, 1944), Bond Papers, IV, 94, 35B and Bond to Robert Labaree (March 28, 1947), Bond Papers, IV, 104, 76B.

[34] Horace M. Bond, "The Dillard University Curriculum," (circa, 1934), Bond Papers, IV, 88, 6C.

[35] Ibid., and Horace M. Bond, "The Objectives of Lincoln University," (circa, 1949), Bond Papers, VI, 170, 5.

[36] Bond to L.M. Stevens (May 29, 1957), Bond Papers, IV, 114, 132A and Horace M. Bond, "James Hardy Dillard: A Southern Gentleman," (October 26, 1956), Bond Papers, VI, 171, 10.

[37] Horace M. Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* (Oxford, Pennsylvania: Lincoln University, 1976), Chapter XXI, "The Tools of Higher Education: Book and Platform Versus Anvil and Hoe," pp. 406-28.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982). I have argued this point in a review of Burke's book in *Educational Studies* 15, (Spring, 1984), pp. 13-17. On Herbst's treatment of the normal school, see Jurgen Herbst, "Beyond the Debate over Revisionism: Three Educational Pasts Writ Large," *History of Education Quarterly* 20, (Summer, 1980), pp. 131-45.

THE COLLEGES AND THE STATE IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS

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In *The Separation of College and State* (1973), John S. Whitehead presents a radical reinterpretation of the history of American higher education. For the traditional dichotomy of pre-Civil War private colleges and postwar public universities, he posits a scheme of the separation of colleges and states, thereby locating the birth of the major private colleges in the post-bellum period. As might be expected, Whitehead's inquiry focuses on a central question: how were the colleges and the states, which had been allied closely, separated in the post-bellum era?

For this purpose, Whitehead examines an extensive range of subjects over a period of one hundred years. In this paper, I would like to set my focus narrowly on Amherst, Harvard, and Williams Colleges during the 1850s. In so doing, I shall examine part of Whitehead's argument as well as formulate my interpretation on the relation of the colleges and the State of Massachusetts during the said period.

Since what Whitehead calls the period of estrangement precedes the 1850s and is closely related to our argument, a summary of his explanation of that estrangement between the colleges and the states will be in order here. According to Whitehead, prior to 1820, the State of Massachusetts, for instance, had amply aided its colleges, especially Harvard, and its colleges in turn had a strong sense of reliance upon the State. From 1820 through 1850, however, the Commonwealth consistently neglected the colleges' pleas for financial help. Estrangement set in between the colleges and the State. Whence this estrangement?

Whitehead cites three major reasons. First, the common schools emerged as the major rivals of the colleges. In the arena of the State legislature, potent educational administrators such as Horace Mann exerted some influence in favor of these schools vis-à-vis the colleges. Second, the colleges themselves had adhered to traditional ideas of training youngsters for lawyers, physicians, and theologians at the neglect of practical training for engineers, farmers, and merchants. On the contrary, Harvard, for instance, had openly defended her classical education against such criticism from practically-oriented groups. Third, in the midst of the society's expansionism, among others that of population, the colleges stood aloof and remained small.[1] These elements combined, claims Whitehead, to make the State hesitant in extending aid to the colleges even at the time of financial laxity. The State did not allocate any money to the colleges when President Jackson distributed in 1837 more than $100 million to Massachusetts. Nor did the Commonwealth respond positively to a series of two petitions for aid by Amherst, Harvard, and Williams in 1848 and 1849 when the State could expect considerable income from its land revenue.[2]

Now if Massachusetts had ceased to grant, thenceforth, any aid to the colleges, Whitehead's scenario would have been clearcut. Ten years after the two unsuccessful petitions mentioned above, however, there occurred something difficult to explain. In March, 1859 the General Court of Massachusetts decided to appropriate a portion from the sales of the Back Bay lands to five of the educational and scientific institutions: Louis Agassiz's Museum of Comparative Zoology, Tufts College, Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Amherst College, and Williams College. Unlike ten years before, Amherst and Williams did not take initiative in the move to obtain aid from the State. Indeed, this time, their trustees scribled petitions only after the Committee on Education of the Legislature had drawn up its recommendations on Wesleyan Academy, Tufts College, and the Museum of Comparative Zoology. The Committee, therefore, had to prepare another report on a similar subject for these "late" comers. Nonetheless, both Amherst and Williams won high commendations from the Committee on Education ultimately to receive a $25,000 grant, respectively.[3] Why did this happen?

The Legislature's decision with reference to Amherst and Williams is difficult to understand for more essential reasons than their belatedness in application. As mentioned above, Whitehead ascribes three major causes to the estrangement between the colleges and the states: 1) the challenge from the common schools, especially their guardians, 2) the lack of practical-scientific training in the colleges, and 3) no enrollment expansion proportionate to that of general population. Now, as far as the second and the third of these points were concerned, Harvard compared much favorably with Amherst and Williams during the 1850s. As for practical science, the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University trained a considerable number of engineers. As shown in Table I, despite Louis Agassiz's presence in the School, engineering, rather than zoology, students had almost always headed its list of enrollment. Both Amherst and Williams lagged behind in this sphere. To be sure, under the Hitchcock administration Amherst started an advanced training in science and engineering in its Scientific Department. But the project proved very short-lived. Amherst Catalogues listed the names of students in this program only twice, in 1853 and 1854, and President Stearns, who replaced Hitchcock in 1854, seems to have flatly discontinued the Department. Williams did not even witness such a plan in the 1850s.[4] Concerning the increase in student enrollment, it was again Harvard, not Amherst or Williams, which best adapted itself to the expansionism of the external society. As Chart I and Table II indicate, between 1851 and 1858, students at Amherst and Williams increased by 20 percent and 10 percent, respectively. During the same period, the Harvard College enrollment expanded from some 300 to 430, marking a 40 percent increase. When Medical, Divinity, Law, and Scientific School students at Harvard were also considered, the rate of increment was even higher. Thus, with respect to both practical science and enrollment increase, Harvard was best qualified of the three to receive aid from the Commonwealth in 1859. Nevertheless, the State aided Amherst and Williams, rather than Harvard.

Why did the State of Massachusetts allocate part of the sale from the Back Bay lands in the way it did? The changing student enrollment in Amherst, Harvard, and Williams between the 1820s and 1850s will offer some clue to the query. As shown in Table II, throughout the period, Harvard received more in-State freshmen, in terms of both number and percentage, than Amherst and Williams did. Partly because of geographical reasons, Williams, and even Amherst, drew relatively fewer in-State students. These facts do not guarantee, however, that Harvard was then more state-wide in character than the other two colleges. On the contrary, a closer look reveals that Harvard remained very provincial during the 1850s in that it attracted students largely from nearby areas. Around the same period, Amherst and Williams became less provincial. Table III shows the change over time of the number of freshmen in the colleges from the three geographical areas of Massachusetts: the first area, which is designated as B in Table III, comprises nine eastern counties including Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, and Suffolk: the second, or W, is Worcester County which is located around the middle of the State: finally, H stands for Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden, and Hampshire Counties. For simplicity's sake, we may call the first area "Harvard area," and the third, "Amherst-Williams area." Throughout the 1850s, as before, more than 90 percent of freshmen at Harvard came from "Harvard area." Moreover, it was these students who boosted Harvard's enrollment around the period. Amherst and Williams present different pictures. In the 1820s and early 1830s Amherst had drawn a large number of clientele from eastern Massachusetts, but this attraction weakened during the 1830s and early 1840s, a period in which Amherst's total enrollment declined. The late 1840s and 1850s witnessed a resurgence of the influx of freshmen from "Harvard area." Between 1854 and 1858 they outnumbered those from western Massachusetts. The influx of "Harvard area" freshmen was even more notable at Williams. Around the beginning of the nineteenth century, more than 90 percent of Williams students were from "Amherst-Williams area," a trend which continued down to the 1840s. From the end of that decade Williams began to attract almost 40 percent of its clientele from "Harvard area," and it became markedly less provincial. During the 1850s the pattern of students' geographical backgrounds at Williams resembled that of Amherst rather than that of Harvard. In short, Harvard remained rather provincial during the 1850s, while Amherst and Williams increasingly bore characteristics of State-wide institutions. The 1859 State aid to Amherst and Williams might have in part derived from these circumstances.

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Table I: Enrollment At:
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LAWRENCE SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL

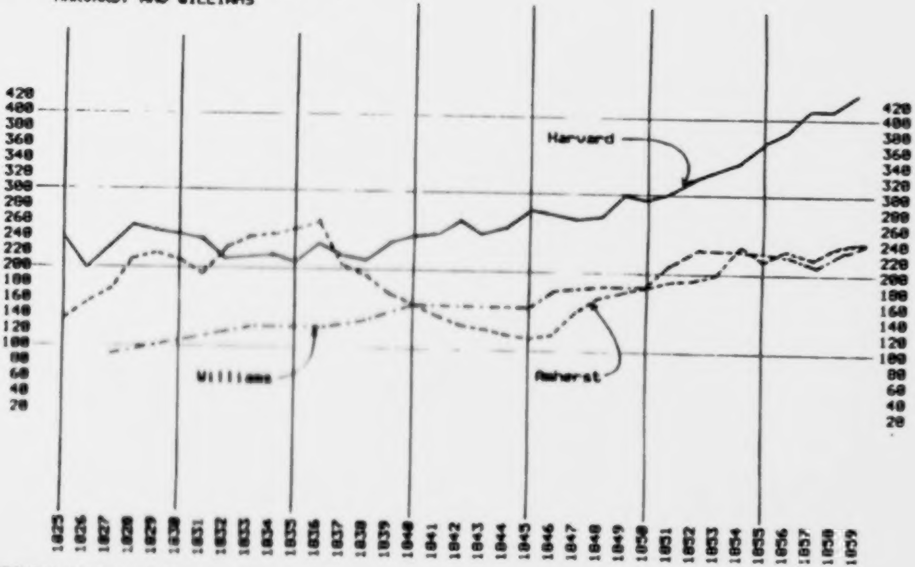
	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859
Chemistry	5	12	20	18	21	24	9	7	9	9	15	19	14
Chemistry & Geology				7	2	1	15	11		6		1	
Math.		1	2					1			4	2	
Engineering				24	33	18	14	35	23	29	25	28	29
Eng. & Geology				4	2	7	23	12		5		1	
Eng. & Zoology				1					7				
Geology				2	2	2	1	2		1	1		
Comp. Anatomy Physiology & Chemistry				2	6		2	3	5	2	8	12	17
Zoology					1				7	2			11
Zoology & Geology							3	3		1	7	6	
Others				4	2	1	3	3	2	4	2	2	2
Total	5	13	22	62	69	53	70	77	51	59	62	71	73

AMHERST COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE

	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859
Chemistry							6	5					
Chemistry & Geology							3	6					
Math. & Engineering							1	4					
Others							2	2					
Total							12	17					

SOURCES: Catalogues of the Officers and Students of the University at Cambridge (Harvard College, Harvard University), 1847-1859. (In the Harvard Archives.); Catalogues of Corporation, Faculty and Students (Amherst), 1853-54 and 1854-55. (In Special Collections, Amherst College Library.)

CHART I. ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR AMHERST, HARVARD, AND WILLIAMS



SOURCES: Catalogues of Corporation, Faculty and Students (Amherst) 1825-1859. (In Special Collections.); John L. Sibley, "Catalogues of Harvard University," Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1864-65, pp.57-59; Frederick Rodolph, Mark Hopkins and the Log, (New Haven, 1956), p.71.

Catalogues of Williams College, 1827-28, 1833-34, 1830-38, 1846-48, 1850-52, 1853-59 (The Massachusetts Historical Society.)

Table II. Percentage of In-State Students at the Three Colleges

		1824-28	1829-33	1834-38	1839-43	1844-48	1849-53	1854-58
HARVARD	$\frac{\text{Mass.}}{\text{Total}}$	$\frac{250}{281}$ = 89.0%	$\frac{208}{247}$ = 84.2%	$\frac{216}{264}$ = 81.8%	$\frac{256}{311}$ = 82.3%	$\frac{250}{317}$ = 78.9%	$\frac{296}{367}$ = 80.7%	$\frac{399}{512}$ = 77.9%
AMHERST	$\frac{\text{Mass.}}{\text{Total}}$	$\frac{156}{249}$ = 62.7%	$\frac{201}{300}$ = 67.0%	$\frac{190}{304}$ = 62.5%	$\frac{151}{201}$ = 75.1%	$\frac{112}{187}$ = 59.9%	$\frac{156}{279}$ = 55.9%	$\frac{194}{318}$ = 61.0%
WILLIAMS	$\frac{\text{Mass.}}{\text{Total}}$	$\frac{35}{84}$ = 41.7%	$\frac{48}{115}$ = 41.7%	$\frac{65}{137}$ = 47.4%	$\frac{62}{151}$ = 41.1%	$\frac{56}{184}$ = 30.4%	$\frac{70}{233}$ = 30.0%	$\frac{69}{238}$ = 29.0%

SOURCES: Catalogues of the Officers and Students of the University at Cambridge (Harvard College, Harvard University), 1824-1858 (In Widener Library, Harvard); Catalogues of the Corporation, Faculty and Students (Amherst), 1824-1858 (In Special Collections.); Rev. Calvin Durfee. *Williams Biographical Annals*. (Boston, 1871).

Table III. In-State Freshmen from Different Geographical Backgrounds at Harvard, Amherst, and Williams

		1824-28	1829-33	1834-38	1839-43	1844-48	1849-53	1854-58
HARVARD	B	238 (95.2%)	184 (88.5%)	199 (92.1%)	241 (94.1%)	230 (92.0%)	273 (93.8%)	373 (93.5%)
	W	10 (4.0%)	17 (8.2%)	14 (6.5%)	11 (4.3%)	12 (4.8%)	16 (5.4%)	19 (4.8%)
	H	2 (0.8%)	7 (3.4%)	3 (1.4%)	4 (1.6%)	8 (3.2%)	2 (0.7%)	7 (1.8%)
AMHERST	B	66 (42.3%)	81 (40.3%)	74 (38.9%)	36 (23.8%)	44 (39.3%)	68 (43.6%)	86 (44.1%)
	W	21 (13.5%)	38 (18.9%)	39 (20.5%)	33 (21.9%)	15 (13.4%)	24 (15.4%)	41 (21.0%)
	H	69 (44.2%)	82 (40.8%)	77 (40.5%)	82 (54.3%)	53 (47.3%)	64 (41.0%)	68 (34.9%)
WILLIAMS	B	5 (14.3%)	8 (16.7%)	2 (3.1%)	4 (6.5%)	8 (14.3%)	27 (38.6%)	26 (37.7%)
	W	1 (2.9%)	3 (6.3%)	2 (3.1%)	4 (6.5%)	3 (5.4%)	4 (5.7%)	2 (2.9%)
	H	29 (82.9%)	37 (77.1%)	61 (93.8%)	54 (87.0%)	45 (80.4%)	39 (55.7%)	41 (59.4%)

SOURCES: Catalogues . . . (Harvard), 1824-1858; Catalogues . . . (Amherst), 1824-1858; Durfee. *op. cit.*

EXPLANATORY NOTE:
B = Barnstable, Bristol, Dukes, Essex, Middlesex, Nantucket, Norfolk, Plymouth, Suffolk Counties (= "Harvard Area".)
W = Worcester County
H = Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden, Hampshire Counties (= "Amherst-Williams Area".)

However, were these circumstances potent enough by themselves not only to recover, but also to reverse, the inferior position of Amherst and Williams against Harvard in regard to practical science and general enrollment? One may duly point out that, although the two colleges did attract many students from eastern Massachusetts during the 1850s, they counted, in absolute number, much less than one third of similar freshmen at Harvard. To ascertain the real significance of the influx of eastern students, therefore, we will have to trace the origin of that phenomenon. How did the influx occur? Demographic changes in the State during the middle decades of the century will partly explain the occurrence. A population increase in eastern Massachusetts and consequential demands for collegiate education could have overgrown the capacity of Harvard College, and an overflow thus created might have found an outlet in Amherst and Williams, colleges in less populated areas. Indeed, as shown in Table IV, the population in "Harvard area" more than doubled during the three decades from 1830, while that of "Amherst-Williams area" increased by slightly more than 40 percent. Hence, one may assert that "Harvard area" freshmen flocked into the two colleges during the 1850s.

This demographic explanation, however, is by no means flawless. First, the decades of the 1830s and 1840s, when the "Harvard area" population grew equally, or even more, rapidly as in the 1850s, did not produce a similar influx of its freshmen into Amherst and Williams. Second, excessive demands for collegiate education in eastern Massachusetts (if such existed) would have had the effect of increasing not only the absolute figures but also the percentage of in-State students at Harvard. The fact was that, although the number increased during the 1850s, the percentage remained the same, or even became lower (Table II). Third, by the middle of the 1850s Tufts College opened in Medford. Its enrollment throughout the decade was rather low.[5] Finally, as will be discussed later, the percentage of ministers among Amherst and Williams graduates slightly increased, after a continuous decline, in the latter half of the 1850s. This is a fact which the demographic theory can hardly explicate.

When supplemented by another factor of economy of education for parents or students themselves, the previous explanation may become more accurate. Throughout the decades leading to 1860, Amherst and Williams offered an education at a much reasonable cost than Harvard did. Yet, as far as these decades were concerned, the relative attractiveness in expenses at Amherst and Williams over Harvard fluctuated, which apparently affected the influx of freshmen from "Harvard area." Table V compares Harvard and Amherst with reference to cost and freshmen enrollment. Chart II visualizes, hopefully, these data, showing how the fluctuation in relative attractiveness of educational cost at Amherst promoted or impeded the influx of freshmen from "Harvard area." Two solid lines indicate the relative economic attractiveness of education at Amherst over one at Harvard for the three decades starting 1831. The dotted line represents the substance of influx, or "Harvard area" freshmen at Amherst as percent of in-State freshmen at Harvard and at Amherst combined. One may be impressed by the degree to which "Harvard area" freshmen enrollment reflected the relative attractiveness in cost at Amherst over Harvard. During the early 1830s, late 40s, and early 50s, when the cost at Amherst was relatively more advantageous, the percentage of "Harvard area" freshmen increased notably. When the relative attractiveness weakened, like the late 30s and early 40s, the same rate dropped down. No wonder the freshmen from eastern Massachusetts did not flock into Amherst during that period, in spite of the general increase of population in that area.

Table IV: Population in Massachusetts by Groups of Counties

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
BARNSTABLE BRISTOL DUKES ESSEX MIDDLESEX NANTUCKET NORFOLK PLYMOUTH SUFFOLK	[63%] 330,166 (66)	[65%] 396,824 (73)	[68%] 503,566 (100)	[70%] 696,249 (138)	[72%] 889,664 (177)
WORCESTER	[14%] 73,625 (77)	[14%] 84,355 (89)	[13%] 95,313 (100)	[13%] 130,789 (137)	[13%] 159,659 (168)
BERKSHIRE FRANKLIN HAMPDEN HAMPSHIRE	[23%] 119,496 (86)	[21%] 129,229 (94)	[19%] 138,820 (100)	[17%] 167,476 (121)	[15%] 181,473 (131)
TOTAL	523,287 (71)	610,408 (83)	737,699 (100)	994,514 (135)	1,231,066 (167)

SOURCES: IVth, Vth, VIth, VIIth, and VIIIth Census Reports. (Wash. D.C. 1821-1862.)

Nonetheless, as shown in Chart II, the attractiveness in cost and demographic changes, on the one hand, and the percentage of "Harvard area" freshmen over in-state freshmen at Amherst and at Harvard, on the other, are not perfectly correlated. An outstanding example may be 1854 when "Harvard area" freshmen did not respond to the highest relative advantage in cost at Amherst. Moreover, a few remarkable changes in "Harvard area" freshmen enrollment can better be explained otherwise. Under the Hitchcock administration, two historic religious revivals occurred at Amherst, one in 1846 and the other in 1850. A phenomenal increase in the percentage of "Harvard area" freshmen immediately followed each of these years. Similarly, the 1835 revival seems to have resulted in a flock of "Harvard area" freshmen into Amherst.[6] Table V-B and Chart II-B, which are the data on Williams, support, rather than contradict, our observation on Amherst.

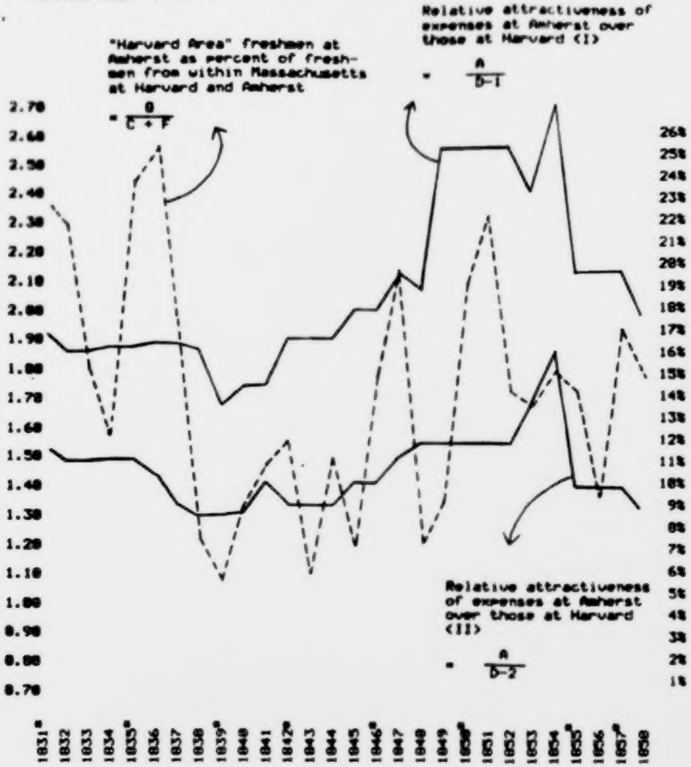
Table V: Expenses (Per Academic Year) and Student Enrollment at Harvard and Amherst

	HARVARD			AMHERST			
	A	B	C	D-1 D-2	E	F	G
1831	179.00	60	51	93.00-118.00	60	41	21
1832	179.00	43	34	96.00-122.00	72	45	17
1833	179.00	47	39	96.00-122.00	85	53	14
1834	185.30	68	62	99.00-125.00	70	43	13
1835	185.30	55	41	99.00-125.00	76	49	21
1836	199.50	47	38	105.00-140.00	76	52	23
1837	199.50	45	33	105.00-150.00	50	34	12
1838	195.00	55	47	105.00-150.00	37	19	5
1839	195.00	76	63	116.00-150.00	38	23	5
1840	194.00	62	51	113.00-147.00	52	38	8
1841	194.00	57	46	113.00-137.00	44	37	9
1842	194.00	68	57	102.00-145.00	32	25	10
1843	194.00	56	43	102.00-145.00	32	24	4
1844	194.00	56	46	102.00-145.00	34	25	8
1845	194.00	78	62	96.00-137.00	34	21	6
1846	194.00	69	51	96.00-137.00	35	24	11
1847	194.00	55	41	90.00-131.00	50	30	14
1848	184.00 or 204.00	72	62	90.00-131.00	52	30	6
1849	204.00	87	73	80.25-131.00	53	20	10
1850	204.00	65	50	80.25-131.00	40	25	14
1851	204.00	67	55	80.25-131.00	63	39	21
1852	204.00	79	62	80.25-131.00	57	37	14
1853	224.00	70	54	93.00-134.00	56	25	11
1854	249.00	91	73	93.00-134.00	66	38	17
1855	249.00	100	74	118.50-179.00	54	30	15
1856	249.00	126	97	118.50-179.00	64	28	12
1857	249.00	96	75	118.50-179.00	66	54	22
1858	249.00	109	88	128.25-188.50	74	45	20

A = Expenses (college bill, board and others) at Harvard in dollar
B = Number of freshmen at Harvard
C = Number of freshmen from within Massachusetts at Harvard
D = Expenses (college bill, board and others) at Amherst in dollar
E = Number of freshmen at Amherst
F = Number of freshmen from within Massachusetts at Amherst
G = Number of freshmen from "Harvard Area" at Amherst

SOURCES: Catalogues (Harvard, Amherst).

CHART II: RELATIVE ATTRACTIVENESS OF COST OF EDUCATION AT AMHERST AND "HARVARD AREA" FRESHMEN



* The revival years at Amherst: (W.S. Tyler. History of Amherst College during its First Century, Springfield, 1873.) Chapters XII, XV, XVIII and XXI.

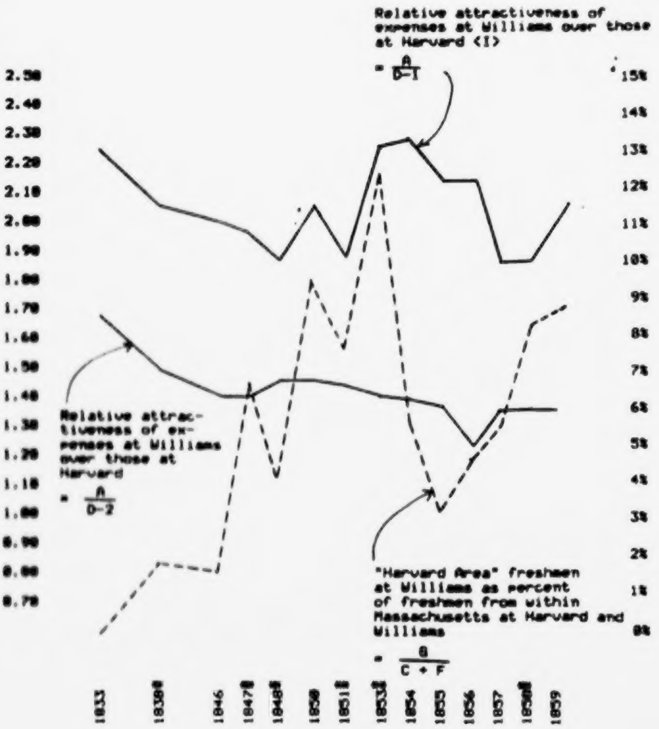
Table V-B: Expenses (Per Academic Year) and Student Enrollment at Harvard and Williams

	HARVARD			WILLIAMS			
	A	B	C	D-1 D-2	E	F	G
1833	179.00	47	39	79.50-106.50	20	11	0
1838	195.00	55	47	95.00-131.00	29	13	1
1846	194.00	69	51	97.75-139.00	35	13	1
1847	194.00	55	41	100.00-139.00	42	20	4
1848	184.00 or 204.00	72	62	100.00-139.00	44	10	3
1850	204.00	65	50	100.00-139.00	42	13	6
1851	204.00	67	55	110.00-140.00	59	23	6
1853	224.00	70	54	100.00-160.00	62	20	9
1854	249.00	91	73	110.50-180.00	58	16	5
1855	249.00	100	74	117.50-184.50	57	18	3
1856	249.00	126	97	117.50-204.00	51	14	5
1857	249.00	96	75	137.00-184.50	50	17	5
1858	249.00	109	88	137.00-184.50	71	22	9
1859	249.00	128	85	120.50-184.50	56	19	9

A = Expenses (college bill, board and others) at Harvard in dollar
B = Number of freshmen at Harvard
C = Number of freshmen from within Massachusetts at Harvard
D = Expenses (college bill, board and others) at Williams in dollar
E = Number of freshmen at Williams
F = Number of freshmen from within Massachusetts at Williams
G = Number of freshmen from "Harvard area" at Williams

SOURCES: Catalogues (Harvard, Williams); Catalogues of Wiliams College as found at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

CHART II-8: RELATIVE ATTRACTIVENESS OF COST OF EDUCATION AT WILLIAMS AND "HARVARD AREA" FRESHMEN



§ The revival years at Williams: (Rudolph. *op.cit.* p.99n.)

In our efforts to explicate the 1859 State aid to Amherst and Williams, therefore, we will have to take into account the colleges' role in the religious life of the State. Table VI shows the changing percentage of ministers produced among Amherst, Harvard, and Williams graduates. Throughout the whole period Amherst and Williams sent out more of their graduates to ministry than Harvard did. During the three decades starting 1824, the rate for the three colleges invariably declined; Amherst from 60 to 40 percent, Williams from 50 to 25 percent, and Harvard from 20 to 8 percent. A closer look reveals, however, that the trend of deterioration was somewhat reversed at Amherst and Williams for the latter half of the 1850s. During this period, Amherst marked 44 percent and Williams recovered a level equal to that of the early 1840s, while Harvard's rate continuously declined. All this indicates that, to explicate fully the influx in the 1850s as well as the 1859 State aid to the two colleges, we will have to assume that Christian religion, especially orthodox faith, regained significance for the State in the 1850s. This factor seems more weighty than the increased demands for collegiate education in eastern Massachusetts or the relative attractiveness in cost at Amherst and Williams Colleges.

Table VI: Ministers as Percent of Graduates

AMHERST							
	1824-28	1829-33	1834-38	1839-43	1844-48	1849-53	1854-58
	85	110	121	92	62	71	101
	138	207	209	182	133	180	229
	=61.6%	=53.1%	=57.9%	=50.5%	=46.6%	=39.4%	=44.1%
WILLIAMS							
	58	43	40	48	45	53	82
	113	100	117	155	165	206	264
	=51.3%	=43.0%	=34.2%	=31.0%	=27.2%	=25.7%	=31.1%

HARVARD				
1820's	1830's	1840's	1850's	1854-1857*
23	27	21	21	24
123	177	187	261	354
=19%	=15%	=11%	=8%	=6.8%

SOURCES: (Amherst) Edward Hitchcock. *Reminiscences of Amherst College*. Northampton, 1863: (Williams) Calvin Durfee. *Williams Biographical Annals*. Boston, 1871: (Harvard) Colin C. Burke. *American Collegiate Populations*. New York, 1982, p. 141; Harvard College, *Class Reports* of 1854, 1855, 1856 and 1857. Boston, 1894, 1865, Cambridge, 1860, 1866.

*The Class Book for 1858 has not been located in the Harvard Archives.

Then how do the facts and inferences so far dealt with relate to the actual process leading to the 1859 State aid? As already mentioned, the objects of the State munificence in 1859 included the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Tufts College, Wesleyan Academy, along with the two colleges. When Amherst and Williams belatedly presented their petitions in March, the Legislature's Committee on Education had already completed its studies on the requests from the first three institutions, and had submitted their recommendations on these. Concerning Tufts College and Wesleyan Academy, equal educational opportunities for religiously divergent groups formed the keynote of the Committee's report. Although both the Methodists and Universalists had substantial population in the Commonwealth, claimed the report, their sons had not been able to pursue advanced learning due to wants in the educational system of Massachusetts, a deficiency which would be partly corrected by the State's aid to Tufts College and Wesleyan Academy.[7] In the Committee's view, the critical role of the State in the "advancement or retardation of the progress of science" entailed its financial help to Louis Agassiz's Museum of Comparative Zoology. Once established as a public scientific institution, the Museum was to become "an everlasting fountain of knowledge to our people, an honor to our Commonwealth, and envy of the world."[8] As I showed elsewhere, the founding of the Museum in fact partly derived from religious motives, in a wide sense of the term, since it aimed to ascertain unshakable orders in nature through comparative studies of living as well as extinct creatures. In doing so, the Museum was to vindicate scientifically and publicly the basic tenets of traditional faith by disseminating the fruits of these studies to the contemporary and future teachers of Massachusetts.[9]

Immediately after the first report of the Committee on Education appeared, the trustees of the two colleges sent their petitions to the State. Written apparently in great haste, the two petitions were brief and succinct. Williams' trustees singularly mentioned their financial plight. The petition by Amherst similarly emphasized its financial difficulties, but it also singled out its production of many school teachers as a notable contribution to the Commonwealth.[10] The Committee's reactions to these petitions in its new report were rather specific and somewhat diverged, perhaps, from the anticipations of the petitioners themselves. As for Williams, the Committee on Education commended its achievement in the dissemination of the "intellect and culture" of Massachusetts not only within the boundaries of the nation but also all over the world. More specifically, Williams's major contribution consisted in the Missionary enterprise. "Its sons are scattered all over the Union," stated the Committee, "and are bearing the banner of the cross to heathen lands . . . The spirit of the Missionary enterprise has been cherished from the first, within the walls of Williams College, and she has given to that cause many of its most eminent champions." The Committee evaluated, in "equally strong terms," the service which "Amherst

College has rendered to the cause of learning and religion." Among the major professions its graduates had entered for the past three decades, the Committee placed clergymen (who numbered 415 in comparison with 61 who became teachers) at the head of the list. In reference to the latest catalogues of the two colleges, the Committee also noted the extensive geographical backgrounds of students at Amherst and Williams. Partly through its inexpensive cost of living, Williams had attracted a large part of its students not only from several other states of the Union but even from foreign countries. Similarly, Amherst College had drawn students "from all quarters . . . over a nearly equal extent of range." The two colleges trained the students thus gathered on their campus in the "mental and moral culture" of Massachusetts, and these students ultimately rose to "the positions of the greatest importance, in this and other States."[11]

Given all this, I would like to conclude my argument in the following way. The Committee on Education entitled Amherst and Williams to State aid in 1859 primarily because of their service to Massachusetts through the preservation and dissemination of her religious values to a number of youngsters from extensive geographical backgrounds. By the side of this central contribution, the colleges' inexpensive cost of living as well as their absorption of an overflow of students from "Harvard area" were, in the Committee's judgment, of subordinate significance. Only when they are properly located within the scheme presented above, will demographic and economic factors help to explain fully the influx of "Harvard area" freshmen into Amherst and Williams during the 1850s. By the same token, I would like to assert that neither Amherst nor Williams would not have received State munificence in 1859 without the recognized contribution in the dissemination of orthodox religious values of Massachusetts.

Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen once stated that the colonial colleges were "public institutions because of, rather than in spite of, their religious purposes and nature."[12] To some extent this scheme explains the circumstances of the 1859 State aid to the five institutions, especially Amherst and Williams. To be sure, such an interpretation begs a prior question: which conditions in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts rendered orthodox religion, however temporarily, "a fundamental public interest"? Whatever be the answer to this question, we nonetheless have to write the history of higher education in the 1850s, not merely as a transitory stage between estrangement and separation, but also partly in parallel with the history of the colonial colleges.

Notes

[1] See John S. Whitehead. *The Separation of College and State*. (New Haven, 1973), pp. 119–130.

[2] See *ibid*., pp. 96ff and 119.

[3] The major documents relative to this legislation, 1859 — Chapter 154, are kept in the Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston.

[4] See *Catalogues of the Corporation, Faculty and Students, 1853–54, 1854–55* (Amherst, 1853, 1854); W.S. Tyler. *History of Amherst College*. (Springfield, Mass., 1873), pp. 327ff; Frederick Rudolph. *Mark Hopkins and the Log*. (New Haven, 1956), pp. 138ff.

[5] See Russell E. Miller.*Light on the Hill*. (Boston, 1966), pp. 66–67.

[6] As for the revivals at Amherst, see Tyler. *op.cit.*, Chapters X and XVIII.

[7] See The Committee on Education. Aid to Educational Institutions. (Senate-No. 83, March 1859), pp. 2–7.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 8.

[9] See Akira Tachikawa. The Two Sciences and Religion in Ante-Bellum New England. Ph.D. diss. (Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978).

[10] See MS. Petition of Trustees of Williams College for Aid. (March 8, 1859); MS. Petition of Amherst College for aid from the State. (March 8, 1859). Both of these documents are found at the Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston.

[11] See Aid to Educational Institutions. (Senate-No. 103, March 1859), pp. 2–3.

[12] Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen. *The University of Wisconsin*. Vol. I. (Madison, Wis., 1949), p. 8.

PART III

Studies in European Educational Ideologies

BOTTAI AND FASCIST EDUCATIONAL POLICY, 1936-1943

Alexander De Grand, Roosevelt University

Cultural policy, in general, and educational policy, in particular, represented continuing trouble spots in the way of the totalitarian aspirations of the Fascist regime. Ironically, educational reform in 1923 was the first significant achievement of the new Fascist government which had taken power in October 1922. This reform was the work of the great idealist philosopher Giovanni Gentile who had been named to the Ministry of Public Instruction in Mussolini's first cabinet. Gentile was unabashedly elitist in his educational thinking: the true goal of education was to prepare the formation of the spirit, perceived somewhat narrowly as the preparation of students for the university. As this was the aim, only a few could participate. Real education was aristocratic and not democratic.[1]

Gentile had little interest in the formation of economic or technical man because these aspects of modern education did not fit his notion of broadening the spirit which was the aim of classical education. Therefore in setting out programs the state could not afford to be agnostic. It had to have a clear idea of what it wanted to teach and how. Gentile suggested for the schools a program based on languages (Italian, Latin and Greek), history, geography, synthesis (physics, chemistry, anatomy, botany, geology) analysis (mathematics), and reflexion (philosophy.)[2] He felt that the qualified student had to embark on this course of study as soon as possible. Not for him were any of the democratic and levelling ideas such as the unified common school which would delay selection until students had a chance to overcome social and economic handicaps.[3]

After World War I Gentile's ideas gained in force by association with Fascism, but they were more the cumulative result of a long standing conservative critique of the schools than of Fascist policy. Even before Mussolini took power, the idealist followers of Gentile were an organized group with great influence. After October 1922, the Fascists, who had no particular ideological position on the schools, looked to Gentile and his friends for leadership on educational matters.[4]

Several things about Gentile's two years as minister (1922-1924) stand out. First, his reform worked to block social mobility through education by setting up a number of tracks which cut the student off from higher education. Second, Gentile deemphasized both technical education and the teaching of modern languages. Third, the educational system deliberately worked to block the progress of female students and professionals. Fourth, the anticlerical tradition of the Italian Risorgimento was watered down by the introduction of courses in religion on the elementary level. Gentile believed that religion should give way to philosophy on the higher levels of education, however. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for the future development of Fascist educational policy, Gentile's reform did not destroy university autonomy, nor did it allow for a political purge of the university, except for obvious and active opponents of the regime.[5]

The center-piece of the Gentile reform of 1923 was the classical high school (ginnasio and liceo) and the university. The device by which Gentile hoped to mold the whole system of higher education toward the formation of a new selective elite was the state examination which was to impose a fixed standard of achievement throughout Italy. These examinations were to be independent of the individual schools and their instructors and, if a student failed one of the examinations, all had to be repeated. Unfortunately, the state examination had the effect of forcing the student to study for the examination instead of for real knowledge.[6]

Mussolini, caught up in the initial euphoria, called the Gentile legislation "the most Fascist of all reforms."[7] But it soon became clear that the key lower middle class constituency of fascism, whose primary ambition had been to advance their children through the educational system, was badly hurt by the reform and put pressure on the government to ease the rigid examination requirements. Mussolini began to back off from the reform as early as 1924 and Gentile and his supporters began a long battle to keep their new structure from dying the proverbial death of a thousand cuts. Thus, after an initial drop in the number of students in the ginnasio-liceo courses, the numbers began to rise rapidly after 1926.[8]

After 1924 the Ministry of Public Instruction (soon given the Fascist sounding name of Ministry of National Education) was more noted for its revolving door than to consistency of leadership. By the early 1930s Ugo Spirito, one of the most perceptive of the critics of the schools, noted that the Gentile reform had failed to deal with the problems of mass education and that its elitist features were increasingly out of place: "In particular, one has to stress the impossibility of satisfying the masses with a school conceived and structured for elites and the further impossibility of persuading the bourgeoisie to go along with the notion that their child will not be part of the elite."[9]

Thus, in late 1936 when Mussolini appointed Giuseppe Bottai to the Ministry of National Education, it signified a new determination to deal once and for all with the problems of the schools. Bottai was perhaps the ablest and most intelligent of Fascist leaders. Earlier he had brought a sense of dynamism and hope to the Ministry of Corporations and had excellent relations with both the younger generation and the cultural establishment.

Several problems were immediately apparent to the new minister. There was the insufficient commitment on the part of higher education to the ideals of the regime. In a system which was notoriously filled with antifascists, only eleven university professors refused to take an oath of loyalty to the regime in 1931. Closely connected with this issue was that of the political education of the young. In 1926 the regime created the Opera Nazionale Balilla to take charge of political and physical education for the elementary schools but the ONB lost control of the large numbers of young once they left school and was poorly coordinated with the educational system. Another problem was the high level of intellectual and professional unemployment which the Gentile reform had unsuccessfully tried to eliminate. Enrollment in the ginnasio-liceo doubled between 1931 and 1939 and tripled in teacher training institutes in the same period. The system set up by Gentile was simply not designed to deal with the lower middle class drive for upward mobility.[10]

On taking over the direction of the schools Bottai sought to coordinate the entire system of education within the overall aims of the Fascist regime. By the late 1930s the Fascists had more or less written off the older generation as hopelessly corrupted and began to direct their attentions to forming the illusive new "Fascist man" by molding the youth. With its stress on the collective and social aspects of mass society the regime found itself saddled with the Gentile reform which was oriented toward elitist education. The old emphasis on classical culture seemed out of place in the new imperial reality of the Duce's regime.

Specifically, Bottai wanted to use the schools to realize the social aims of fascism. These were most clearly defined in five areas. First, he sought to stabilize rural Italy by reducing the flow of migration from the countryside to the city. Second, his policies aimed at furthering the demographic ambitions of the regime by placing new obstacles in the way of women who sought professional careers outside the family. Third, Bottai furthered the racial policies of late fascism by applying the discriminatory laws against the Jews to all levels of education. Fourth, there was a renewed effort to coordinate party youth organizations and the schools. Finally, Bottai sought to resolve the difficult problem of intellectual unemployment and the lack of technical training.

As so often was the case in Fascist Italy, sweeping and potentially totalitarian legislation was applied in a traditionalist authoritarian manner. The main lines of the new system were set forth in the School Charter of January 1939. In this document Bottai made no attempt to attack the elite schools or to carry out a full scale political purge of the schools. He merely sought to redirect students from the courses leading to the university. Thus, the ideal of the classical university education remained as it was under Gentile with increased governmental administrative control over the universities. Most parents failed to understand the purposes of the new reform and continued to seek admission for their children into the elite schools.[11] In the balance of this paper, however, we shall examine five areas in which Bottai sought to introduce changes: ruralization, the women's education, racial policy, political education, and technical training.

A decree law of October 14, 1938 made sweeping changes in the system of rural schools which resulted in giving them a special administration, a curriculum based on local traditions and religion, and a teaching staff which was to be coordinated with the Ministry of Agriculture. The aim was to draw the children closer to the soil. A parallel system of artisanal schools were established to instruct students in the traditional specialized regional crafts. Bottai spoke of these schools as "not offering the slightest incentive to the young to change their social condition but were instead almost an extension of the family environment."[12] The problem with this was that the Fascist regime encouraged rural overpopulation without dealing with the problem of underemployment. As a result, the migration to the city continued, although perhaps at a slower pace.

Women were treated in a somewhat ambiguous fashion. They were not completely excluded from the schools leading to the university, but, short of that, everything was done to discourage them. Special schools for women, which did not lead to the university, were established to prepare young women for their role in the Fascist state. Three year women's institutes were to take girls from the middle schools. The graduates of these institutes might go on to teacher training institutes for pre-school education or become housewives.[13]

Although the racial legislation was not part of the School Charter, Bottai systematically applied the antisemitic laws to the schools. All foreign Jewish students were excluded in August 1938. In the following months the decree for "the Defense of the Race in the Fascist school" excluded all Jewish teachers, forbade Jewish students from enrolling in the public schools, and set up segregated Jewish elementary schools. Jewish students were allowed to finish only if they were already in the university. All Jews in the various academies and scholarly associations were purged. Even children's books by Jewish writers were eliminated.[14]

In 1937 to better coordinate the various youth organizations the Fascist regime created an umbrella organization, the Gioventu Italiana del Littorio, which was placed directly under the party secretariat. The GIL aimed at reaching all young people, inside and out of the schools. Bottai, who was eager to increase the political content of education, was not equally enthusiastic about sharing authority over the schools with the GIL. He rejected the idea that classes be restricted to the morning to leave afternoons free for the GIL. The official position of the Ministry of

Education was that the schools and the party had distinct functions which ought not be confused. Only in the person of the teacher might unification take place. Bottai issued orders making it mandatory for teachers to cooperate with the GIL by lending their services. Checks were made to see if teachers on the elementary and secondary level were in good standing with the party. Thus, under Bottai integration proceeded quite far on the primary level where the classroom instructor was often an official of the GIL, but this ideological commitment declined on the higher levels and largely disappeared in the university.[15]

Perhaps the most sweeping part of the School Charter dealt with technical education. Faced with new demands for skilled and semi-skilled labor as a result of the policy of economic autarchy which had been pursued after 1935 and with persistent high unemployment in the liberal professions, the Fascist government was determined to eliminate excess students from the courses which led to the university and to redirect them toward other careers. To this end technical schools which prepared students for manual and lower level administrative positions were established. The idea was to introduce an element of planning to direct students into developing areas of the economy and to coordinate this effort with the needs of industry and agriculture. Thus, the majority of students who passed beyond elementary education would go either to the scuola del lavoro (labor school) or the scuola artigiana (craft school), both of which were designed to prepare the young for manual labor. The brightest might advance to professional and technical schools for further training but these institutions were closed to the university. To further emphasize the importance given to manual work, productive manual labor was to be introduced as an educational tool on all levels of education. Here again, the idea was both to overcome the distinction between culture and work and between the intellectual and the laborer and to bridge the gap between schools and the workplace. It coincided with the populist orientation of the later Fascist years. Pupils were supposed to gain a clearer understanding of collective social life and of the work ethic. Productive labor was not restricted only to the schools for workers but was to be part of the curriculum of the elite schools as well. Few institutions, however, were prepared to introduce the new program and confusion was increased by basic disagreements over the meaning of "productive labor." Many, especially after the outbreak of the war in 1940, thought in terms of minor projects for the defense effort. Others argued that the stress should be on the development of the child and that any labor had to have educational value. In general, however, this reform stagnated in the face of resistance from parents and problems resulting from the war.[16]

The reform of the schools undertaken by Bottai was mired in inherent contradictions. It was the product of two tendencies which were at work in the late 1930s. The first was the already mentioned desire of the regime to create a new Fascist man and new culture. Education was defined in the School Charter as a state service with an official document in which the child's progress was noted. In theory, the young were to be molded according to the racial, economic and demographic needs of the state. But here a first contradiction crept in. Although Fascist rhetoric after 1936 was increasingly antibourgeois and the collectivity was glorified and privilege scorned, no radical interpretation of the notion of scholastic service was allowed which might have called for removing inherited privilege from the process of advancement. The regime made it clear that it did not want to disturb the class structure and the middle class was determined to protect its vested interest in the schools to defend its social position. The age of common schooling before students were separated into different tracks was set at eleven years — too young to allow children to overcome handicaps.[17]

But there was also a second tendency at work on Fascist educational thinking in the late 1930s. New theories of schools, associated with John Dewey and others, made headway in Italy. Many of Bottai's closest advisers believed that the schools should assist the child to develop but not rigidly control choices. Their idea was a school which would help orient students toward the future. They tried to make their influence felt in the introduction of the "productive labor" concept and in the establishment of centers for research on teaching methods (centri didattici). Many of them might have preferred to extend the period of common schooling, reduce the importance of Latin in the classical curriculum and place more emphasis on modern languages. But, in the end the combination of pressures was too strong. The war made it impossible to introduce most of the reforms. Resistance from the middle class blocked the more radical innovations. In the end, however, it was clear that despite its totalitarian rhetoric the Regime itself was wedded to a conservative ideal of society: "Fascist education is understood to give to man a religious vision of life by which the individual feels himself truly inserted in the hierarchical order, courageously accepts his condition and considers his betterment as a duty and not as an escape from the obligations inherent in his social condition."[18] Fascism which took power to defend middle class interests never deviated from that position in its educational policy and in so doing made a mockery of its own totalitarian pretensions.

Notes

[1] Giovanni Gentile, *La nuova scuola media* (Florence 1925), pp. 34-35, article from the *Rivista filosofica*, 1902. For a somewhat fuller discussion of these problems, albeit in a different form and context, see chapter five of my *Bottai e la cultura fascists* (Bari 1978).

[2] Gentile, *La nuova scuola media*, pp. 38-40.

[3] Gentile, *La nuova scuola media*, pp. 84, 88-89, 96-99, 136. On Gentile's pedagogical theory, see G. Giraldi, *Giovanni Gentile: filosofico dell'educazione, pensatore politico, riformatore della scuola* (Rome 1969), pp. 55-57, 74-77, 88; Tina Tomasi, *Idealismo e fascismo nella scuola italiana* (Florence 1969), pp. 16-23. Gentile cared little about elementary education and left that area to the more liberal Giuseppe Lombardo Radice.

[4] Tomasi, *Idealismo e fascismo*, pp. 72-73. Many in Gentile's group were associated with the right wing Italian Nationalist Association.

[5] Marzio Barbagli, *Disoccupazione e sistema scolastico in Italia* (Bologna 1974), p. 197; Tomasi, *Idealismo e fascismo*, p. 78. While the universities remained formally autonomous, professors lost their right to elect rectors and deans. See Edward Tannenbaum's *The Fascist Experience: Society and Culture, 1922-1945* (New York 1972), p. 155.

[6] L. Minio Paluello, *Education in Fascist Italy* (London 1946), p. 104.

[7] Tomasi, pp. 63-64, 79.

[8] On the reaction to the reform, see Ugo Spirito *La riforma della scuola* (Florence 1956), p. 68, 99; Tomasi, pp. 82-85; Minio Paluello, p. 117, Barbagli, pp. 203-03.

[9] Spirito, pp. 26.

[10] See Barbagli, pp. 245, 272-89; Tannenbaum, p. 171; "54.832-10.512," *Diritti della scuola*, XL (February 26, 1938), p. 273.

[11] See G. Bottai, *La nuova scuola media* (Florence 1941), pp. 32-39 and *La carta della scuola* (Milan 1939), pp. 150-52. Bottai made it clear that his reform would not attack the place of Latin in the curriculum, nor would he touch the ginnasio-liceo program. See *La nuova scuola media*, pp. 14-15, 193-94 and "Riforma della scuola media e professionale," *Diritti della scuola*, XL (October 30, 1938), p. 44.

[12] The rural schools were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ONB which had controlled them from 1928 to 1935. See Bottai, *La carta della scuola*, pp. 28-29; Teresa Maria Mazzatosta, *Il regime fascista tra educazione e propaganda, 1935-1943* (Bologna 1978), pp. 74-78; R. Gentili, *Giuseppe Bottai e la riforma fascista della scuola* (Florence 1979), pp. 119-24.

[13] On the anti-feminist inspiration behind the creation of the women's institutions, see "Cronaca," Diritti della scuola, XL (March 12, 1939), p. 313. Also Gentili, pp. 134-39. Bottai felt that the aim of female education was to avoid creation of competitive situations between males and females in the employment market. For an overview of the problem of women and the Fascist regime, see A. De Grand, "Women under Italian Fascism," *The Historical Journal*, XIX (1976), pp. 139-159.

[14] On Bottai's racial policy, see Minio Paluello, p. 196; Tomasi, pp. 161ff; Renzo De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei sotto il fascismo* (Turin 1961), pp 284, 347, 381.

[15] On the integration of the schools and the GIL, see "Relazione di S.E. Bottai sull'andamento scolastico 1937-38," Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1937-39, fasc. 5/1, n. 5298; Minio Paluello, p. 190; Mazzatosta, pp. 193-95; a.t., "La collaborazione alla GIL," *Diritti della scuola*, XL (March 19, 1939, p. 325; "Rapporti tra scuola e GIL," *Critica fascista*, April 1, 1939; "Compiti della GIL," *Critica fascista*, December 15, 1939.

[16] On the debate over the issue of productive labor, see Gentili, pp. 93-102; for a summary of the various positions, see De Grand *Bottai e la cultura fascista*, pp. 204-210.

[17] Luigi Volpicelli, "La scuola media e l'orientamento scolastico," *Scuola e cultura*, XVI (April 1940), p. 232. On the ideals and ideology of later fascism, see Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il duce: Lo stato totalitario, 1936-1940* (Turin, 1981).

[18] R. Del Giudice, *La scuola al lavoro* (Bari 1941), p. 28.

EDUCATION IN LIBERAL ITALY: PRELUDE TO FASCISM?

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Forty years after the fall of Mussolini, the debate continues on the relationship between Liberal and Fascist Italy. Benedetto Croce, who claimed that Italy from 1860 to 1922 was one of the most democratic countries in Europe,[1] perceived of Fascism as a parenthesis in this march of democracy. Others, however, have found the roots of Fascism in Liberalism and concur with Gaetano Salevemini that Giovanni Giolitti paved the way for Mussolini.[2] The connection between Liberalism and Fascism is far too complex to unravel in a short paper. This essay has a more modest aim. It focuses upon the relationship between Liberal educational practices and Fascist ones. More specifically, it examines the manner in which the Liberals and Fascists dealt with the Church, which fought to preserve its traditional role in the education of the young.

Mussolini, as early as 1925, had developed the formula for the ethical state arguing "all within the state, nothing outside the state nothing against the state."[3] The Duce insisted that the moral and spiritual education of the young be coordinated and supervised by the government. He noted in 1929 that the rights of the state, in this regard, transcended particular regimes. In his view the state was the custodian and transmitter of the spirit of the people in language, in customs, and even in faith. "It is the State which educates its citizens in civic virtue," Mussolini argued, "and gives them a consciousness of their mission and welds them into a unity."[4] This last sentiment echoed the position of the Liberals who appreciated the importance of education in the creation of a citizenry.

The Fascist struggle with the Catholic Church for the minds of the young was in some respects a continuation of the conflict initiated by the Liberals during the *Risorgimento*. Once the Piedmontese placed themselves at the head of the national and revolutionary movement by granting a constitution and by declaring war against Austria, they recognized the need to emancipate the state schools from clerical influence. Their reorganization of public instruction commenced with the expulsion of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart from Piedmontese territory. The School Law of 1848 insisted that direction of the schools was a civil rather than an ecclesiastical function, so that the bishops could no longer prevent individuals from teaching as they had under the regulation of 1822.[5] Thus as early as 1848 the Piedmontese government restricted Church control over education and found itself in conflict with the Holy See.[6]

The Piedmontese Count Camillo di Cavour, the architect of Italian unification, firmly believed that there should be a complete separation of Church and State.[7] Considering liberty the ideal, he desired an educational system free and open to all. He, therefore, rejected the demand of Angelo Brofferio of the Left for state supervision of the seminaries opposing the call to have the clergy frequent the theological faculties in the universities.[8] In his mind, state control of ecclesiastical institutions was an improper as clerical control of public education. On the issue of freedom of teaching, Cavour was opposed by both the Radical Right and the Anti-Ecclesiastical Left.

The clergy opposed the State's efforts in education, making itself the center of a reactionary opposition. Pius IX in his allocution of September 5, 1851, *Quibus luctuosissimia*, rejected the notion that the administration of the schools should be exclusively under civil authority.[9] Catholic education was deemed vital in the preservation of Catholic civilization against the pretensions of the liberal current. Appropriately the pro-papal, conservative journal founded by Jesuits such as Father Taparelli and Father Curci in 1850 was called *Civiltà Cattolica*.[10] In its first issue the *Civiltà* noted that it was the duty of the Church to teach "eternal truths" and denounced the Piedmontese effort to dominate education.[11] The Pope accused the Piedmontese government of depriving Church authorities of all influence over education and resented this blow even more than the confiscation of Church property.[12]

The opposition of the clergy and the reaction of Rome to the Piedmontese attempts to control education aroused the anti-Ecclesiastical left and stiffened its opposition to any compromise. The deputies of this persuasion considered the Church a menace to constitutionalism and insisted upon its subordination to the State. Secularization, immediate and complete, was to precede state control of the Church. Understandably, the Sinistra Eccelsiastica did not approve Cavour's legislation which granted freedom to all competent parties to educate. One of their members, Lorenzo Valerio, who as a child had been in frequent difficulty with conservative school authorities,[13] declared that granting the Church freedom to educate was an invitation to that tyrannical organization to poison the minds of the young. Valerio warned that such freedom would result in a renaissance of Jesuit influence and undermine the constitutional order.[14] His warnings did not prevail.

Cavour's moderate approach or via media in education was concretized in the Casati Law of November 13, 1859.[15] Actually a Piedmontese law,[16] it was applied to the entire peninsula after unification.[17] Named for the Minister of Education, Count Gabrio Casati, it sought to provide an organic plan for public education in Italy, assuming that only by this means could it create a solid national consciousness.[18] It was thus one of the first actions of the new government of national importance that sought to unify the various states that had been brought together in the *newly formed Kingdom.*[19]

The Legge Casati sought at once to address the most pressing problems confronting the educational system in Italy: the mass illiteracy and lack of national identity among the people of the peninsula. To cope with these problems, it created a centralized national ministry of public instruction which regulated and inspected education throughout the Kingdom. By means of standardized educational practice and central control, it sought the formation of a citizenry loyal to the government rather than to the Church or local interests.

Various provisions of this legislation were less than pleasing to the Church. The fact that the State supervised all schools, including religious ones, was not appreciated in Rome.[20] On the other hand, the law established religious instruction in the schools, which was given all students unless their parents specified otherwise. Furthermore, it assured freedom of education, safeguarding the rights of both State and Church in their area of competence.[21] Thus the Italian revolution which unified the peninsula assured that religious education would continue to form an integral part of the curriculum.[22]

From the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 to the fall of Cavour's party of the Right (the *Destra*) in 1876, some fifteen years elapsed. During that time the elementary schools were perceived as centers of civil education. Ministers of education sought to create lay schools where they were lacking, because while Italy was made it was now necessary "to make Italians."[23]

The scholastic policy of post Unification Italy planned to remove from the clergy the traditional role of educator of youth, obtaining by means of lay teachers and appropriate programs a non-confessional culture.[24] Appreciating the importance of education, the Destra argued that it could no longer be neglected and certainly not left to clerical control.[25] How far the State would go in its drive to secularize education remained uncertain. Francesco De Sanctis, who became Minister of Education in March 1861, was asked if that meant that all the teachers in the public schools had to be lay people. He responded that all who were qualified whether lay or religious could teach, but the administration of the schools could not be under the control of the clergy.[26] This did not satisfy the Church.

The Italian episcopacy and the Pope concurred in their condemnation of the *Risorgimento*, secularism, and the Destra's legislation which curbed Church influence.[27] The bishops protested the laicization of education, the suppression of Catholic schools, and the attempt to place seminaries under state control.[28] In response to the Minister of Justice's demands for information concerning the religious schools, the bishops responded that their seminaries were not open schools but religious houses and as such subject to Church law rather than state regulation.[29]

Pius IX, who was alarmed by the fact that a number of apostate religious as well as non-believers were permitted to teach in the public schools, was not silent.[30] He unequivocally condemned the idea that the civil authorities enjoyed complete control over education and the appointment of instructors.[31] On December 8, 1864, the Pope issued his encyclical *Quanta cura* accompanied by the Syllabus of Errors condemning the notion that the family derived its reason for being solely from the civil law, as well as the claim that civil society should instruct children.

The secular system of education advocated by the State was condemned by the Pope in errors 45 and 47. Error 45 read:

> The entire government of public schools in which the youth of a Christian state is educated, except (to a certain extent) in the case of episcopal seminaries, may and ought to appertain to the civil power, and belong to it so far that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the conferring of degrees, in the choice of approval of teachers.

This condemnation was repeated in error 47 which read:

> The best theory of civil society requires that popular schools open to children of every class of the people, and, generally all public institutes intended for instruction in letters and philosophical sciences and for carrying on the education of youth, should be freed from all ecclesiastic authority, control and interferences and should be fully subjected to the civil power at the pleasure of the rulers and according to the standards of the prevalent opinions of the age.[32]

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, the scholastic legislation and decrees of the Kingdom brought an increasing secularization. The Court of Appeals of Lucca in a judgment of April 1868, indicated that Article I of the Constitution, which established Roman Catholicism as the state religion, was modified by the fact that there existed liberty of teaching and the discussion of every religious doctrine.[33] Then a state circular of July 1871 modified the Casati Law making religious instruction optional rather than obligatory.[34] In the future religious education was to be provided by the State only to those students whose parents requested it.[35] Distressed by the unwillingness of the Church to come to terms with the Italian State, all private education was carefully controlled in order to limit the influence of the clergy.[36]

There was those who argued that the teaching of civic duties and the formulation of a secular culture could not occur unless education was not only lay but compulsory. An attempt was made by Cesare Correnti, Minister of Education in 1872, to render education compulsory. The Ministry collapsed along with the project.[37] The opposition was led by the Jesuits of *Civiltà Cattolica* who insisted that religious instruction was more important than literacy. Liberal education, they argued, only led to corruption and ruin, observing that the increase in education after 1871 had only led to an increase in crime.[38]

At the First Catholic Italian Congress held in Venice in June 1874, a number of speakers denounced the attempt of the State to displace the Church in the educational realm. Divine positive law accorded to the Church alone the right of universal education, one speaker argued. The State, he insisted, exercised sovereignty over temporal rather than spiritual matters, and education and instruction had as their ultimate end the eternal life. Thus while the governments of the various states might cooperate with the Church in educating its citizens, they could only do so under its guidance.[39] The Italian attempt to introduce lay, compulsory instruction was perceived as an attack upon the Catholic schools, the seminaries, and the Church by the Italian hierarchy.[40]

Despite the opposition of the Church, in 1876 when the Sinsitra replaced the Destra in power in the "parliamentary revolution," Michele Coppino, the new Minister of Public Instruction, sought to implement the compulsory education bill that had failed in 1872.[41] The resulting Coppino Law of July 15, 1877 (n. 396) not only made schooling compulsory for children between the ages of six and nine, it abolished compulsory religious teaching in the elementary schools.[42] Article II which described the curriculum did not include religious instruction, opting instead for the study of "the duties of man and the citizen."[43]

Although this legislation represented the high point of laicization of the schools and its passage was considered a defeat by the clericals, its impact was not to be as great as Rome feared. For one thing the open opposition of many communes rendered difficult the curtailment of religious instruction. Then on May 17, 1878, the Council of State rejected the contention that the Coppino Law suppressed religious instruction in the elementary schools.[44] Nonetheless, the fear of disastrous consequences led the Church to alter its political stance and urge the faithful to participate in politics on the local level, if not the national, in order to preserve religious interests in the schools.[45] They joined conservatives who feared the consequences of literacy upon the established order.[46] As a consequence clericals increasingly accepted a collaboration with conservatives in administrative elections in order to protect mutual interests.[47]

The papal *Non expedit* continued to keep the obedient from running or voting in national elections. It not only challenged the legitimacy of the Liberal State, it also isolated Catholics. Alienated from the secular society, they formed a series of organizations including the Society of Italian Catholic Youth (founded in 1867), which provided the inspiration for the formation in 1874 of the Opera dei Congressi or Catholic Action.

Provided with a central executive and committees on the regional, diocesan and parish levels, it sought to coordinate the activity of the obedient in safeguarding the rights of the Church.[48] Politics was excluded.[49] From the first, Catholic Action was critical of the centralization of the State and especially resented state attempts to dominate education.[50]

Although the conflict between Church and State continued, its tone moderated in the first decade of the twentieth century. Giovanni Giolitti, who dominated Italian political life from 1901 to 1914, sought accommodation rather than confrontation with the Catholic Church.[51] He elaborated his position on Church-State relations in 1904 during the parliamentary discussion which followed the Papal protest against the coming of the French President Loubet to Rome. "As regards ecclesiastical policy we believe there are no changes to be made," he observed. "We shall walk our own way without troubling ourselves about the observations others might make. Our principle is this, that the State and the Church are two parallels which must never meet."[52] This was Giolitti's equivalent of Cavour's "free Church in a free State."

Giolitti did not sanction anticlericalism which he considered counterproductive and was contrary to his mentality. Indeed he sought to draw Catholics into the political life of the country.[53] Thus in 1907 when a number of journals supposedly expressing the Ministry's views announced that his government was disposed to dissolve the religious corporations, Giolitti let it be known that his government had no such intention.[54] He did not perceive the 3000 men and women religious who taught in the public school system, less than 6% of the total, a threat to its integrity.[55] Likewise, on the issue of religious instruction in the public schools, Giolitti assumed a conciliatory approach aimed to placate rather than arouse Rome but always preserving the separation of Church and State.

Despite Giolitti's moderation, the great debate over religious instruction in the elementary schools that had troubled relations between Church and State in Italy between 1877 and 1900 resurfaced in 1908 on the eve of the elections for the XXI legislature. In February 1908, Leonida Bissolati, the reformist Socialist, proposed a complete secularization of the primary schools prohibiting religious instruction in any form. The Prime Minister, noting the importance of education, responded that the Bissolati proposal might make the public schools odious in the eyes of the Catholic multitude. In his view those who favored the motion considered its ultimate aim political and sought to divide Italian politics along clerical and anti-clerical lines.[56] Giolitti considered this impractical as well as inconsistent with the customary tolerance of Italians in religious matters.

On the issue of religious instruction in the schools, Giolitti pointed out that there were three possibilities: prohibit it in the schools, impose it, or leave freedom of choice providing such instruction for those who requested it. He supported the third choice which he felt was in keeping with past practice and the Cavourian ideal and denied that this shattered the policy of the parallels.[57] With Giolitti's support the Bissolati motion was defeated by a large majority (347 against 60), and the Prime Minister's compromise solution adopted. This provided that religious instruction would be offered upon the request of heads of households at communal expense when the provincial scholastic councils aproved it, at family expense when the councils did not.[58] The compromise did not satisfy anticlerics or the teacher organizations which felt that the Giolitti government did not make education sufficiently lay and democratic.[59] Giolitti, however, would not budge from his centrist position; he continued to support liberty for all within the limits of the law.[60]

The Daneo-Credaro educational law of 1911, which radically modified the scholastic structure of Italy by giving control of education to the provinces rather than the small communes which could not fully afford state programs, did not bring about changes in the compromise on religious instruction. Nonetheless it was opposed by Catholics who feared that it would encourage the "nationalization" of education and undermine their own position in elementary education.[61] By this time the struggle between Church and State for control of education had reached a stalemate. The Liberal State, not wishing to antagonize a good part of the Catholic population, did not push laicization to an extreme. The Church, for its part, aware that it could no longer preserve its absolute prerogatives in education, now championed the very freedom in education it had earlier denounced.

This compromise was undermined by Mussolini's Italy in the postwar period. Pius XI, who became Pope in 1922 the same year the Fascists assumed power, was anxious to end the Roman Question. Following his election he ventured to the outer balcony of St. Peter's and imparted his blessing *urbi et orbi* to the city and the world. He was the first Pope since Pius IX to do so.[62] In his Christmas message of 1922 he assured Italians that their country would never have to fear any harm from the Holy See.[63]

The Fascists for their part made a number of conciliatory moves to win Vatican approval. The fact that Catholic schools were provided parity with the public ones, respect was shown the clergy, and the government provided three million lire for Churches damaged during the war pleased the curia.[64] Likewise it appreciated the restoration of the crucifix to the classroom.[65] Clearly a new age had dawned in Church-State relations in Italy.

In education the new relationship between Church and State was reflected in the Gentile Reform of 1923. Mussolini's first Minister of Education Giovanni Gentile had long decried the fact that the Liberal

State which emerged from the *Risorgimento* had failed in its effort to create a national consciousness.[66] His efforts were no more successful. In fact his educational reform made concessions to the counter culture of the Church that most Liberals would have deemed inadmissible. Thus though Mussolini boasted that the Gentile Reform was "the most Fascist of reforms" it was welcomed by Catholics who had long sought compulsory religious instruction in the state elementary schools. Catholics were likewise delighted by the state examinations which for the first time placed their schools on the same level with those of the state.[67]

The *Civiltà Cattolica* welcomed the Riforma Gentile for having overturned the pre-Fascist Liberal education which it claimed was "against the family and against the Church."[68] While the Vatican was not completely satisfied with educational practices under Fascism and from time to time found cause for complaint, it never assumed the offensive it had against the educational practices of its Liberal predecessor. During the tenure of Cesare Maria De Vecchi as Minister of Education (1935-1936), religious instruction was introduced in the secondary schools and its importance stressed by making proficiency in it essential for promotion. Furthermore while religious instruction was provided by qualified lay teachers in the elementary schools, in the high schools it was offered by priests.[69] Even the Carta della Scuola, the most concerted effort to put Fascist educational principles into practice,[70] did not challenge the role of the Church in education. Not surprisingly, by a series of moves and maneuvers the Vatican indicated its approval of the measure.[71]

The Vatican preferred the Fascist to the Liberal position on Church-State relations and the Roman Question. Whereas the Liberals believed these had been "fixed" by the Law of Papal Guarantees, Mussolini was willing to negotiate. Giolitti adhered firmly to Cavour's separatism.[72] Mussolini, on the other hand, believed that "libera chiesa in libero stato" was unrealistic and that the State had to join hands with the Church for the control of matters of common concern.[73] Thus despite the rhetoric of the totalitarian state, Fascist Italy accepted the integralism of the Church in the schools and society rejected by the parliamentary regime. Mussolini lamented the cost and consequences of this policy during the Republic of Salò[74] but then it was too late.

Notes

[1] Benedetto Croce, Speech of September 27, 1945 in A. William Salomone (ed.), *Italy from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1970), p. 433.

[2] Gaetano Salvemini, "Fu l'Italia prefascitsa una democrazia?" *Il ministro della mala vita e altri scritti sull' Italia giolittiana*, ed. Elio Apih (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1962), p. 555.

[3] Shephard B. Clough and Salvatore Saladino, *A History of Modern Italy: Documents, Readings and Commentary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 441.

[4] Benito Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," in *Fascism: An Antology*, ed. by Nathaniel Greene (New York: Crowell, 1968) p. 44.

[5] Giuseppe Talamo, *La scuola dalla Legge Casati alla Inchiesta del 1864* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1960), p. 15; Bertoni Jovine, pp. 71-73.

[6] J. Derek Holmes, *The Triumph of the Holy See: A Short History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Burns and Oates, 1978), p. 131.

[7] Luigi Chiala, *Lettere edite ed inedite di Camillo di Cavour* (Turin: Roux e Favale, 1884), I, 430; Jemolo, p. 89.

[8] Arturo Carlo Jemolo, *Chiesa e stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* (3rd ed., Turin: Einaudi, 1952), p. 139.

[9] Antonio Santoni Rugiu, *Il professore nella scuola italiana* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1959), p. 107.

[10] The actualization of an idea of Father Curci, The *Civiltà Cattolica* was not under the direction of the Vicar-General of the Company of Jesus, Father Cambi, nor under the direction of the General, Father Roothan. This journal which began its publication in Naples but was soon moved to Rome was shaped by Pope Pius IX himself.

[11] Dina Bertoni Jovine, *Storia dell' educazione popolare in Italia* (Bari: Laterza, 1965), p. 119.

[12] Santoni Rugiu, p. 107.

[13] Clara M. Lovett, *The Democratic Movement in Italy, 1830-1876* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 78; Amilcare Carlotti, *Lorenzo Valerio* (Turin: Stamperia reale, 1872), pp. 11-12.

[14] Angelo Brofferio, *Storia del parlamento subalpino* (Milan: Battezzeti, 1866-70), V, 281.

[15] "Legge sulla pubblica istruzione 13 Novembre 1869," Italia, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *Testo Unico delle Leggi sull'Istruzione Superiore* (Rome: Tipografia Romana Cooperativa, 1919), p. 73.

[16] For the text of the Casati Law see Talamo, pp. 71-83.

[17] Iclea Picco, *La scuola nel Risorgimento: Nascita della scuola nazionale* (Rome: Armando editore, 1961), p. 13.

[18] Enzo Robaud, *Disegno storico della scuola italiana* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1961), p. 33.

[19] Bertoni Jovine, p. 135.

[20] Italia, Minstero della Pubblica Istruzione, *Relazione presentata a S.E. il ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Prof. Comm. Nicolo Gallo suglie Istituti Femminili di Eduazione e di Istruzione in Italia* (Rome: Tipografia Ludovico Cecchini, 1900), p. 92.

[21] *Testo Unico delle Leggi sull'Istruzione Superiore*, p. 173; Bertoni Jovine, p. 140.

[22] *Relazione presentati a S.E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Prof. Comm. Nicolo Gallo*, p. 92.

[23] Picco, pp. 99-100.

[24] Francesco Margiotta Broglio, "Legislazione italiana e vita della Chiesa (1861-1878)" in *Chiesa e religiosità in Italia dopo L'Unità (1861-1878)* (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1983) *Relazioni*, I, 138.

[25] Augusto Romizi, *Storia del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* (2nd ed.; (Milan: Albrighi, Segati e co., 1902), p. 12.

[26] Talamo, pp. 110-112.

[27] For a complete list of laws presented in ecclesiastical matters see *Atti parlamentari. Indice generale 1848-1897* (Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati, 1898), pp. 374-375.

[28] Anna Talamanca, "La scuola tra Stato e Chiesa nel ventennio dopo l'Unità," *Chiesa e religiosità in Italia dopo l'Unità (1861-1878)*, Comunicazioni, I, 376.

[29] Ibid., I, 380.

[30] Pius IX to Napoleon III, May 13, 1867, *Archivio Segreto del Vaticano, Archivio Particolare Pio IX, Sovrani, Francia*, no. 73.

[31] Derek Holmes, p. 147.

[32] Anne Fremantle (ed.), *The Papal Encyclicals in their Historical Context* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1956), p. 148.

[33] Broglio, *Chiesa e religiosità in Italia dopo l'Unità, Relazioni*, I, 112.

[34] Talamanca, *Chiesa e religiosità in Italia dopo l'Unità, Comunicazioni*, I, 383.

[35] Bertoni Jovine, p. 181.

[36] Ibid., p. 168.

[37] Perri, p. 77; Bertoni Jovine, p. 163.

[38] Perri, pp. 78-79; Bertoni Jovine, p. 164.

[39] Talamo, p. 114.

[40] Pius IX to Victor Emmanuel II, January 3, 1870, *Archivio Segreto del Vaticano, Archivio Patricolare Pio IX, Sovrani, Sardegna*.

[41] Bertoni Jovine, p. 166.

[42] Picco, p. 197.

[43] *Testo Unico delle Leggi sull'Istruzione Superiore*, p. 2.

[44] Bertoni Jovine, p. 186.

[45] Talamanca, p. 366.

[46] Tina Tomasi, "Letture e lavoro nella scuola del popolo dell' eta' liberale e fascista," *Educazione Oggi*, January-March 1981, pp. 83-84.

[47] Bertoni Jovine, pp. 215-216.

[48] Raymond Grew, "Catholicism in a Changing Italy," *Modern Italy: A Topical History Since 1861*, ed. Edward Tannenbaum and Emiliana P. Noether (New York: New York University Press, 1974), pp. 258-259.

[49] Ernesto Vercesi, *Il Movimento cattolico in Italia (1872-1922)* (Florence: La Voce, 1923), p. 14.

[50] Gabriele De Rosa, *La crisi dello Stato liberale in Italia* (Rome: Editrice Studium, 1955), p. 10.

[51] Frank J. Coppa, "Giolitti e I Cattolici nell'Italia Liberale, 1904-1914," *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, LXIV (July/September, 1977), 309.

[52] Italia, *Camera dei Deputati, Discorsi parlamentari di Giovanni Giolitti* (Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati, 1954), II, 820.

[53] Coppa, *Rassenga Storica del Risorgimento*, LXIV (July/September, 1977).

[54] Giovanni Spadolini, *Giolitti e I Cattolici, 1901-1914* (2nd ed.: Florence, Felice Le Monnier, 1960), p. 213.

[55] Italia, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *L'Istruzione Elementare nell' anno scolastico 1897-98. Relazione a S.E. Il Ministro* (Rome: Ludovico Cecchini, 1900), p. cxv.

[56] *Discorsi parlamentari di Giovanni Giolitti*, II, 1018.

[57] Ibid., II, 1019-1020.

[58] Bertoni Jovine, p. 323.

[59] Emilio Gentile, "L'antigiolittismo e il mito dello Statu nuovo," in *Istituzioni e metodi politici dell'età giolittiana*, ed. Aldo A. Mola (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1979), pp. 137–138.

[60] Spadolini, p. 289.

[61] Enzo Catarsi, "L'educazione prescolastica nell'Italia giolittiana (1901-1914)," *Studi di Storia dell'Educazione*, anno. 2 April-September, 1982, p. 105.

[62] John P. McKnight, "The Papacy and Fascism," *The Papacy and Totalitarianism between the Two World Wars*, ed. Charles F. Delzell (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1974), p. 22.

[63] *Principles for Peace: Selection from Papal Documents from Leo XIII to Pius XII*, ed. Harry C. Koenig (Washington, D.C.: National Welfare Conference, 1943), pp. 353-354.

[64] J. Derek Holmes, p. 43.

[65] *Anglo-Vatican Relations 1914-1939: Confidential Annual Reports of the British Ministers to the Holy See*, Ed. Thomas E. Hachey (Boston: G.K.Hall, 1972), pp. 60, 80.

[66] Emilio Gentile, *Le origini dell' ideologia fascista (1918-1925)* (Laterza: 1975), pp. 343-344.

[67] Edward R. Tannenbaum, *Italian Society and Culture, 1922-1945* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 154-157.

[68] Richard J. Wolff, "Catholicism, Fascism and Italian Education from the Riforma Gentile to the Carta della Scuola, 1922-1939," *History of Education Quarterly*, Spring, 1980, p. 7.

[69] Tannenbaum, p. 159.

[70] Ibid., p. 162.

[71] Wolff, p. 21.

[72] *Doscorsi parlamentari di Giovanni Giolitti*, II, 820.

[73] *Talks with Mussolini*, ed. Emil Ludwig, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1933), p. 176.

[74] Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini* (New York: Knopf, 1982), p. 311.

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO HOMER'S *ILIAD*

Robert H. Beck
University of Minnesota

This essay considers Homer as an educator, whose principal lessons in the *Iliad* are, first, that it is very important to preserve order, then, second, to add to one's reputation and, finally, to show *aidos*, a social virtue that translates pity, awe, respect. The *Odyssey*, and what is taught in that epic, will not be examined. Neither will I reflect on "the Homeric question," the question of whether or not the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were the work of one author or more than one. The many arguments clustering in the Homeric question usually are scholarly, occasionally are interesting, and almost always are futile. Rather than entering a debate over authorship, my remarks will inquire after a general theory undergirding the *Iliad* and a very few of the lessons intimately related to that theory.

The Classical View of Homer as Educator

For Herodotus, Homer marked the beginning of civilization. Plato called him the educator of Hellas.[1] Aeschylus appreciated "Homer's great feast."[2] The centuries that passed did not dim Homer's reputation. Reaching only to fifth century B.C., a fragment of Aristophanes' early comedy, *Daitales*, preserves the examination of a bad boy using his Homeric glosses.[3] The old cultural tradition, the *archaia paideia*, leaned heavily on Homer — along with Hesiod and the gnomic poets. Aeschines had made the point tersely: "We study the maxims of the poets in our youth in order that we may use them when we have grown to manhood."[4] Homer held first place; for an impressively long time there were recorded recollections of boyhood memorization of the bard. Traces are on every hand. Niceratus' response, quoted in the *Symposium* of Xenophon, is only one of many. When Niceratus is asked what knowledge of his Niceratus thinks of most worth, the answer is: "My father was anxious to see me mature into a good man and, as a means to this end, he ordered me to memorize the whole of Homer; and so, even now, I can recite the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by heart."[5] Admittedly, the memorization of Homer was not always used for moral development. Ability to recite Homer was a mark of being civilized — or of hoping to be thought so. As in Greece, so it was in Rome. In a note on the eleventh *Satire* of Juvenal, Seneca tells Calvisius Sabinus of "a rich freedman of no education, that he gave a literary flavor to his dinners by means of his slaves: of these, one knew Homer by heart . . ."[6]

We know that the *Iliad* lost none of its importance as one approached modern times. As Hegel had it: "Homer ist das Element, in dem die grieschische Welt lebt wie der Mench in der Luft."[7] ["Homer is the element in which the Grecian world lives as man in air."] But a change was taking place in the manner in which the *Iliad* was appreciated. *Had educators taken advantage of the epic, had Homer been perceived primarily as an educator, the shift would not have been so profound* nor its neglect by historians — historians of classical education especially. What happened was that the *Iliad* passed into literary hands. It was easy enough; the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were literary masterpieces. No one will deny that. Pope is typical when moved to add to the Preface of his translation of the *Iliad*: "What [Homer] writes is of the most animated nature imaginable; everything moves, and is put in action."[8]

There are other words of praise; I will not recite them. Nor does time allow recalling the central plot of the *Iliad*.

Principles and Principal Lessons

Regnant concepts are not many. As I have suggested, three seem overarching: the maintenance of order, cultivating and preserving one's reputation, and behaving with *aidos*. Most of the lessons of the *Iliad* are linked to these principles. They are the mainstay of the Homeric educational philosophy.

The *principle of order* is most important. In the Homeric view, an organism is well when its interdependent parts are ordered. That is, each part has its special role and the well-being, the health of the whole, requires that the elements be harmoniously related. One of the terms basic to this thought is quite physical and is to be found in Homer. It is *harmonia*. *Harmonia* literally means a joining together of two or more separate things. A broken bone that knits is an example of restored *harmonia*. The broken bone has been "cured." However, the organism need not be biological; it may be a household, as the *oikos* of Odysseus; it may be an army campaigning, as the one led by Agamemnon. Remembering that members of the organism have his or her proper functions, Agamemnon is defined by his role as commander-in-chief. Did he play that role properly, righteously? Homeric judgment usually is ethical. Still thinking of the *Iliad*, Achilles has a role to play; he is the chief Achaean warrior. The Achaeans counted on Achilles, whose reputation justified that confidence. Did Achilles live up to the expectations of his role, which gave life to his reputation?

In answering these and other questions, the audience, the readers, students — all — are being taught. We learn to take our cues from the wisest of all Achaeans, Nestor. Nestor begs Agamemnon, "*agathos*[9] though you are, do not take the girl [Briseis] from him [Achilles]."(1.275) Achilles gets complementary advice. "Do not wish to fight with a King, Achilles; for a king bearing a sceptre, to whom Zeus has given grandeur, has no ordinary share of honor."(1.277-79) Once again, a basic lesson of the *Iliad* is the injunction: preserve order! The role of the king as commander-in-chief ("marshaller of the host") has to be respected. Agamemnon's full title calls for respect. He is "son of Atreus, most glorious, lord of men, Agamemnon." The prudent Odysseus knows that there can be only one king, one commander-in-chief. "In no way," Odysseus argues, "shall all Achaeans be kings. It is not well that there be many lords. . . . Let there be one lord, one king. . . ."(2.203-06)

Agamemnon can rule over the Achaean division of the spoils of battle; Briseis was such a spoil. There is no question that Agamemnon's seizure of "fair cheeked" Briseis is legal. It is legal but not prudent. Toward the end of the epic, Homer has Agamemnon plea in a face-saving way: "I was blinded and Zeus took my wits away."(19.1137) Agamemnon admits: "I was the first to be angry."(22.378) The king is cured; Agamemnon recognizes his responsibility, and he offers to recompense Achilles most handsomely.

Achilles, too, is ill. His anger has overcome his reason; he is suffering from his *oulomenē mēnis*, an all-consuming anger. In the great scene of persuasion, the scene that dominates Book IX, old Phoenix, who had been Achilles' teacher in the hero's youth, reminds Achilles, by telling him Meleager's story, of the tragedy that follows on being ruled by a terrible anger and not by prudence. But for a very long time neither Achilles or Agamemnon yields to reason, assume their rightful roles — that for which they are reputed among men. And, during their illness, many Achaeans, noble common alike, must die. *Pathei mathos*, as the playwright, Aeschylus, was to write in his *Agamemnon: pathei mathos*, "men learn wisdom through suffering."[10] When Achilles is cured, *harmonia* will have been restored. But we shall have to wait for that cure, wait and learn another great Homeric lesson, one tied tightly to the preservation of order, the lesson of *aidos*.

Aidos is a term whose connotation is to be taken most seriously by anyone who wishes to approach the *Iliad* as an educator. Although *aidos* has been subject to any number of renditions, it has a single, overriding meaning in the *Iliad*. To feel *aidos* means that one heeds the opinion of others. In a scene that must have taught an important lesson into which we cannot inquire here, the Trojan heroes, Sarpedon and Glaucus, are reminded that they have a reputation for conspicuous valor. *They must not act cowardly*. Only the coward is without 'shame,' i.e., lacking in concern for the opinion of those who make — or break — one's reputation.

As already suggested, *aidos* is a complicated concept in the Homeric lexicon. At one and the same time *aidos* is having pity and at the same time, is feeling shame to be found wanting in valor. In an epic about war one would expect *aidos* to be taught in terms of the behavior of a mighty warrior. Ajax is such a one and his appeal to his fellow Achaeans "to feel shame" is an excellent example of even a formidable warrior realizing that he cannot stand alone.(15.561) Specifically, Ajax asks that the Achaeans be disciplined; that they not break ranks but, rather, stand with their comrades. In contrast we hear the wise, old Nestor, charge Achilles, sulking in his tent, with wishing to be reputed a great soldier whereas, in reality, he will be known as one who failed to show concern for his comrades.(11.762-63)

Until you search out the use and praise of *aidos* in the *Iliad* one has no idea of how the Greeks were given to the doctrine of overlearning. That is, the lesson is taught again and again. The technique is always the same. Correct behavior is modelled by those entitled to be listened to with respect. Let Book XV of the *Iliad* provide the illustrations. Lines 655-58 tell how the Achaeans withdrew to their boats fighting shoulder-to-shoulder, bound by their mutual fear of being thought poor (undisciplined) soldiers. To the same end Homer has Nestor (661-6) rally the retreating Achaeans with the command that each man have *aidos* for his fellows. Moving to another book, Agamemnon in his role as commander-in-chief, rallies the Achaean tribes by calling on them "to feel shame."(5.528-32)

I have saved one other meaning of *aidos*. It is a meaning that seems very different from the war-like, comrade-in-arms connotation that has been paraded and well might have been discussed by Greek teachers. Achilles is called pitiless, without *aidos*, both by his dear friend, Patroclus, and by Apollo, watching Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector around the walls of Troy.

What is the reason to find this interjection of *aidos* as pity in an epic about war and the revenge of Menelaus, Agamemnon's brother, whose wife, Helen, has been lured away to Troy by one of Priam's sons, Paris? One reason, one lesson, well might be that pitilessness does not make for comraderie, so necessary to esprit de corps and, therefore, to order. So much for that. . . . Let me call attention to other qualities that supplement *aidos*. Compassion is a quality praised in the *Iliad*. Being gentle (*epios* or *aganos*) or feeling compassion (*eleeo*) have their place. Being gentle is favorably noted at least fifteen times in the *Iliad* and having compassion more than twice as often.[11] A warrior-hero need not be brutal. Patroclus, a soldier in the best Homeric tradition, succors the wounded Euryplus. "You were always kind," mourns Briseis, lamenting over Patroclus' corpse.(19.300)

It is noteworthy that when Achilles learns pity the *Iliad* ends. It ends with Achilles moved to tears by the memory of his own father. "Nay," says Priam, "have thou awe (*aideio*) of the gods, Achilles, and take pity on me, remembering thine own father."(24.503-4)

A Final Lesson

There is another most significant lesson taught in that same scene at the close of the *Iliad*. It is the lesson of the role chance plays in the affairs of mortals. That is, even when there is order, when each is playing his/her proper role and playing it properly, chance has to be taken into account. It is Achilles, the man of action, now transformed into a man of wisdom, who teaches the lesson. He and Priam must leave off weeping, says Achilles, Priam for his sons, he, Achilles, for his father, Peleus, and for Patroclus. What then follows may be one of the finest and most revealing passages in the *Iliad*.

> "But come, sit upon a seat, and our sorrows will we suffer to lie quiet in our hearts, despite our pain; for no profit cometh of chill lament. For on this wise have the gods spun the thread for wretched mortals, that they should live in pain; and themselves are sorrowless. For two urns are set upon the floor of Zeus of gifts that he giveth, the one of ills, the other of blessings. To whomsoever Zeus, that hurleth the thunderbolt, giveth a mingled lot, that man meeteth now evil, now with good; but to whomsoever he giveth but the baneful, him he maketh to be reviled of man, and direful madness driveth him over the face of the sacred earth, and he wandereth honoured neither of gods nor mortals."(24.524-33)

Notes

[1] Plato, *Republic*, 606E.

[2] Athenaeus, VIII, 347e (cf. Estathius, ad *Il.*, XXIII, 256, p. 1298, 56. The attribution is not to be accepted uncritically, a fact noted in A.F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices: Play and Trilogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 56.

[3] Aristophanes, *Daitales*, fr. 222K.

[4] James Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), 10.

[5] Xenophon, *Symposium*, III, 5.

[6] J.D. Daff, ed., Juvenal, D. *Iunii Iuuenalis*: Saturae XIV (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1970), Note 180, p. 370.

[7] W.J. Verdenius, "Homer the Educator of the Greeks," *Mededelingen Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* 33 (1970): 209.

[8] Alexander Pope, trans., and Rev. J.S. Watson, ed. Homer *The Iliad of Homer* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1904), "Preface," xxxvi.

[9] *Agathos* can be contrasted with *kakos*; he/she who is *agathos* anchors one end of the socioeconomic scale; he who is *kakos* is very poor, wretched in every way.

[10] Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 176.

[11] Grace H. Macurdy, *The Quality of Mercy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).

PART IV
Program and Proceedings

History of Education Society
Midwest History of Education Society
1984 Annual Meeting

October 19-21, 1984

PROGRAM

Friday, October 19

8:00-9:00 Registration
9:00-10:30 Shelby
Papers: Academic Standards and the American High School, 1870-1984

Chairmen/Commentator: Robert Hampel, Research Associate, A Study of High Schools

Participants: David F. Labaree, Georgetown University
"Academic Excellence in the Early American High School, 1870-1920"

Jeffrey Mirel, University of Michigan
"Curriculum Change and Social Crisis: Detroit's High School, 1927-1940"

Michael W. Sedlak, Michigan State University
"Academic Standards and the Meaning of High School to Adolescents, 1940-1984"

9:00-10:30 Carter
Papers: Church-State Issues in Education

Chair/Commentator: F. Michael Perko, Loyola University

Participants: Akira Tachikawa, International Christian University — Tokyo
"The Colleges and the State in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts"

William C. Ringenberg, Taylor University
"Whatever Happened to the Protestant College?"

Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., University of Miami
"Christian Fundamentalism and the Historiography of American Education"

10:45-12:00 Windsor
Papers: Authors on Their Work

Diane Ravitch, Teachers College, Columbia University
"The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-1980"

Moderator: John H. Best, Pennsylvania State University

12:00-1:45 Lunch

2:00-3:30 Shelby
Papers: Education and Popular Culture

Chair/Commentator: Gary Gaffield, Manhattanville College

Participants: James M. Wallace, Lewis and Clark College
"The Assault on the Schoolhouse: Liberal Responses to the Educational Depression"

Doris M. Meadows, New York University
"Popular Journalism, Education and Publicity During the Progressive Era"

Lawrence B. Fuller, Bloomsburg University
"The Magazine as Educator: Mary Mapes Dodge and St. Nicholas"

2:00-3:30 Carter
Papers: Abraham Flexner and the American Reform Tradition

Chair/Commentators: Harold S. Wechsler, University of Chicago
Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, Teachers College, Columbia University

Participants: Laura Smith Porter, University of Princeton
"A Distinctly American **Wissenschaft:** *Abraham Flexner and the Institute of Advanced Study"*

Steven C. Wheatley, University of Chicago
"Abraham Flexner and the Politics of Educational Reform"

3:45-5:15 Shelby
Papers: Gender and Schooling in Chicago, 1900-1940

Chair/Commentator: Joan N. Burstyn, Rutgers University

Participants: Lisa Fine, University of Wisconsin-Madison
"Clerical Education in Chicago: 1900-1930"

Nancy Green, Northeastern Illinois University
"Gender-Based Differences in the High School Experience: Chicago, 1920-1940"

3:45-5:15 Carter
Papers: Case Studies of Reform and Reaction

Chair/Commentator: David Angus, University of Michigan

Participants: David N. Plank, University of Pittsburgh
"Success and Failure in Urban School Reform: Two Atlanta Case Studies"

H.C. Sherman, Northern Illinois University
"Ethic and Racial Pluralism in Sioux City, Iowa: A Case Study of Woodrow Wilson Junior High School, 1924-1953"

Alan Wieder, University of New Orleans
"The New Orleans School Crisis of 1960: The In-School Participants"

5:15-6:00 Shelby
Midwest HES Business Meeting

6:30-8:00 Shelby
HES Board of Directors Meeting

Saturday, October 20

8:30-10:00 Shelby
Papers: Gender and the Emergence of Modern Higher Education, 1865-1920

Chair/Commentator: James McLachlan, New York University

Participants: Ellen M. Brier, University of Illinois-Chicago
"The Unwanted Academy: Preparatory Education at Vassar College, 1865-1888"

Patricia Foster Haines, University of Pennsylvania
"The Masculine Side of the Woman Question: 'True Manhood' at Cornell University, 1870-1900"

Lynn Gordon, University of Rochester
"The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Images of the Educated Woman, 1890-1920"

8:30-10:00 Carter
Papers: Educational Reform in International Perspective

Chair/Commentator: Jurgen Herbst, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Participants: John M. Burney, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
"Academic Illiberalism and Academic Liberalism: A Comparison of the Political Socialization of University Students in Imperial Germany and Republic France"

Hubert O. Brown, University of Hong Kong
"Tao Xingzhi and the Uses of Educational History in the People's Republic of China"

Terrie Alafat, University of Chicago
"The Expansion of Women's Education in the Middle East: Supply and Demand Factors in the Case of Beirut University College"

10:15-11:45 Shelby
Papers: Studies of the Historiography of Afro-American Education

Chair: William Thomas, University of Pittsburgh

Participants: Wayne J. Urban, Georgia State University
"Horace Mann Bond and the Place of Industrial Education in the Black College Curriculum"

Ronald E. Butchart, State University of New York-Cortland
"The History of Afro-American Education: An Assessment of Ninety Years of Scholarship"

Commentator: Cynthia Griggs Flemming, University of Tennessee

10:15-11:45 Carter
Papers: Review and Critique Session: George Huppert's *Public Schools of Renaissance France*

Chair/Commentator: Harvey J. Graff, University of Texas-Dallas

Participants: George Huppert, University of Illinois-Chicago
Henry Heller, University of Manitoba
Gerald Strauss, Indiana University

12:00-1:00 Windsor
Papers: Authors on Their Work

Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, Teachers College, Columbia University
"Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching"

Moderator: Steven Schlossman, The Rand Corporation

1:00-2:30 Lunch

2:30-4:00 Shelby
Papers: New Approaches in the History of Higher Education

Chair/Commentator: Douglas Sloan, Teachers College, Columbia University

Participants: Rita Saslaw, University of Akron
"Conflict of Roles: Evangelism and Feminism at Antebellum Oberlin"

Hugh Hawkins, Amherst College
"Problems in Categorization and Generalization in the History of American Higher Education: An Approach Through the Institutional Associations"

Roger Geiger, Yale University
"Voluntary Giving and the Reshaping of American Universities, 1900-1940"

2:30-4:00 Carter
Papers: Aspects of Education in Fascist Italy

Chair/Commentator: Anthony L. Cardoza, Loyola University

Participants: Frank J. Coppa, St. John's University
"Education in Liberal Italy: Prelude to Fascism?"

Alexander De Grande, Roosevelt University
"Giuseppe Bottai's Educational Reform: Dilemma of a Conservative Modernizer"

Richard J. Wolff, St. John's University
"Educating Fascist Youth: The Schools and the Youth Movement in Mussolini's Italy"

4:15-5:30 Shelby
Papers: Education and Interest Group Politics

Chair/Commentator: William E. Eaton, Southern Illinois University

Participants: Theresa Richardson, University of British Columbia
"The Medicalization Alternative, Education in British Columbia, and the Rockefeller Foundation, 1918-1940"

Colleen A. Moore, University of Akron
"The National Association of Manufacturers: The Voice of Industry and the Free Enterprise Campaign in the Schools, 1929-1949"

4:15-5:30 Carter
Papers: Education through Art and Artifact

Chair/Commentator: Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., University of Miami

Participants: Sandra Schnee, Teachers College, Columbia University
"John Cotton Dana, The Newark Museum, and the Role of the Arts in American Society"

Mary Ann Stankiewicz, University of Maine
"Picture Study: Context and Content"

5:45-6:45 Windsor
HES Business Meeting

8:00 Banquet and Presidential Address
Douglas Sloan, Teachers College, Columbia University
"Knowledge and Values in Educational History: 'Once More unto the Breach, Dear Friends'"

Sunday, October 21

9:00-10:30 Shelby
Papers: A Radical Critique of Teaching in 20th Century Industrial America

Chair/Commentator: Steve Aby, University of Akron
Don T. Martin, University of Pittsburgh
"Radical Theorizing and the Teacher in 20th Century American Education"

Richard J. Altenbaugh, University of Pittsburgh
"Teachers and the Workplace"

10:45-12:45 Carter
Papers: Studies in Educational Thought and Practice

Chair/Commentator: Erwin V. Johanningmeier, University of South Florida

Participants: Robert H. Beck, University of Minnesota
*"An Alternative Approach to Homer's **Iliad**"*

Bette Weneck, Teachers College, Columbia University
"Grace Hoadley Dodge, Nicholas Murray Butler and Vocational Educational as Consensual Value"

Ronald Kellum, University of Virginia
"Teacher Training and Development: Francis W. Parker's Legacy to the Present"

Gregory Maffet and Charles M. Dye, University of Akron
"The Educational Thought of Cornelius Van Til: Resolving the Dilemma of 'Compromise' and 'Inconsistency' in Contemporary American Christian Education"

David Binkley, University of Waterloo
"John Dewey's Influence on Ontario's Educational Establishment"

History of Education Society
Midwest History of Education Society

Planning Committee

Jennings L. Wagoner, University of Virginia
F. Michael Perko, Loyola University
David Angus, University of Michigan
William Eaton, Southern Illinois University
Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, Teachers College, Columbia University

Minutes: 1984 Annual Business Meeting
The Midwest History of Education Society

The annual business meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society was convened at 5:15 p.m., Friday, October 19, 1984 in the Shelby Room of the Americana Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. The meeting was called to order by Society President F. Michael Perko, S.J.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with and the minutes of the Society as published in Volume 12 of the Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society were approved. Edward Rutkowski reviewed the status of the Journal. It continues to be healthy and there is a balance of $1,158.62 in our account.

President Perko explained the procedures for selecting papers for publication in Volume 13 of the Journal. They are to be judged by a committee chosen by the president and ten papers will be selected for publication.

The following slate of officers for 1985 was nominated, seconded, and elected by acclamation:

President:	F. Michael Perko, S.J. Loyola University of Chicago
Vice President:	Christopher Eisele Illinois State University
Secretary:	Glenn Smith University of Houston, Clear Lake

President Perko acknowledged an invitation to hold the 1985 meeting at Loyola University of Chicago on October 25 and 26, 1985. The Society gratefully accepted.

President Perko expressed, on behalf of the Society, our thanks to the Program and Planning Committee on the History of Education Society namely: Jennings Wagoner, David Angus, William Eaton, and Ellen Condliffe Lagemann.

President Perko also expressed our continued thanks to Ed Rutkowski for his work on producing the journal.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:50 p.m.